

John G. Smith

THE *old paper article*
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TEMPERANCE PROBLEM
AND
SOCIAL REFORM

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AUTHORS' NOTE

THE writers gratefully acknowledge the assistance they have received from numerous friends and correspondents in this country, the United States, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, who have helped them with information, opinions and criticisms. They also wish to acknowledge the unfailing courtesy which they received from public officials and others in the two latter countries in the course of personal investigations in 1898.

Preface

THE primary object of this volume is to consider the question of Temperance legislation in its relation to the general social problem. It will be the purpose of the early pages to answer some of the questions which at the outset confront any inquirer who seeks to obtain a true insight into the Temperance problem, *e.g.*: What is the actual condition of this country with regard to intemperance, as compared with past years and with other countries? How does the consumption of alcohol in this country compare with that of the United States and other English-speaking lands? What is the effect of climate upon drinking usages? Is the *per capita* consumption of alcohol in nations living within certain climatic zones and in certain stages of economic progress a constant quantity, or is it directly amenable to Temperance teaching and to wise and strong public law? These questions, or most of them, admit of explicit answers. But there are others of equal importance which open out lines of inquiry of great interest, but of greater difficulty.

What proportion, for instance, of the national drink bill of 150 millions belongs to the working classes?

What is their average weekly family expenditure upon drink? And what relation does this drink expenditure bear to the average family earnings? If these inquiries cannot be answered with scientific accuracy, it is believed that estimates may be given in which the margin of possible error is so limited as not to affect the practical deductions which the figures suggest. Whether the larger or the smaller of any careful estimates be accepted, the proportion of the family earnings expended upon drink is so great as necessarily to affect the whole conditions of life, and the possibilities of achieving a higher civilization.

The present writers are fully conscious that Temperance is no universal panacea. There are pressing economic questions which it cannot solve. But they hold that apart from Temperance the social problem will remain insoluble. For surely intelligence, forethought, and self-restraint on the part of the people themselves are essential factors in all social reform. The greatest of all needs in the struggle for progress is the need of strong men in the people's ranks.

No attempt is made in this volume to discuss physiological questions relating to the place and effect of alcohol. The writers base their proposals upon the broad and indisputable positions, that the present consumption of alcohol in this country is excessive, and ought to be reduced; and that the force of law and of local arrangement should favour sobriety rather than intemperance.

The experience to be gained from other countries

forms the subject of one section of this work, in which important legislative experiments made on the Continent of Europe and in the United States are reviewed. Happily, in some cases the experiments have been conducted for a sufficient length of time to enable the results to be accurately measured, and the experience so gained is of great value. The failures are perhaps as instructive as the successes. We know far better than we did fifty years ago what is and what is not possible.

The inquiry here attempted resolves itself, finally, into two main questions: What in this age and in this country are the causes which create intemperance? and what are the influences which can be brought to bear in counteracting it? In the consideration of the first of these questions, the present writers have not been unmindful of the effect of climate, of race, of heredity, of drinking usages, of the character of the liquor consumed, of the absence of facilities for healthful recreation, and of the combined and powerful influence of past and of existing laws. They have sought also, as a matter of the first moment, to present a true picture of the conditions under which vast numbers of our countrymen live. Without a vivid realization of these conditions it is easy to ignore many of the elements of fascination in the public-house, and to overlook agencies which must be brought into play to counteract its influence.

The agencies which make for Temperance fall into two main divisions—those which are of a restrictive or

controlling character, and those which seek to dry up the springs from which intemperance flows. For the sake of convenience they may be spoken of as the "restrictive" and the "constructive" agencies. To the former class belong such measures as a reduction by statute in the number of licensed houses, and a shortening of the hours of sale. The importance of proposals of this kind has received general acceptance. But far less thought has hitherto been given to the provision of constructive agencies. It is true that the Temperance value of all elevating influences, such as education, has been recognised, and there have been both personal and associated efforts to provide better recreation than that which the public-house offers. But the question in its wider aspects has not yet been taken up as a matter of high national concern, too vast and too important to be left to private enterprise.

In making proposals for Temperance legislation it would be foolish to ignore the enormous strength of the liquor trade, the magnitude of its vested interests, and the degree in which these interests permeate British society. Were it not that moral forces are ultimately stronger than selfish interests, one might despair of success. But the time when the moral forces shall assert their supremacy will depend upon the practical wisdom, as well as upon the zeal, of the friends of Temperance. Union is essential to success, and the help of all possible allies must be secured. This proposition may seem elementary and self-

evident, but it is one that has hitherto had little place in the counsels of the Temperance party. To give only one illustration. It has been shown that the agencies which make for Temperance must be both restrictive and constructive. These agencies often appeal to different orders of mind. Broadly, the restrictive agencies appeal most strongly to those who are occupied with direct Temperance work ; while the constructive agencies hold the first place with those who are concerned with the wider aspects of society as a whole, the general conditions of city life, the wretchedness of the highly-rented room, and the dreariness of existence to multitudes of workers. Both classes of agencies are essential to success, but hitherto the representatives of the two schools have failed to unite. Now it requires no special gift of reasonableness for those who value the restrictive agencies to agree among themselves, nor for those who value the constructive agencies to agree among themselves. But what is now wanted is the wider outlook, the statesmanship quick to discern the full strength of the forces which may be marshalled on the side of Temperance, and the practical sagacity to bring about a working union. A just appeal may be made to both bodies of reformers to unite for a common end. To those who place their confidence in restrictive agencies it may be pointed out that even if these were enacted to an extent beyond anything that appears probable in the near future, there must still remain a great volume of trade outside the reach of these restrictions.

This will be especially the case in the large towns, where the trade, if carried on as at present, will continue to be disastrous to the public weal. A scheme of policy which makes no allowance for this covers only a portion of the ground, and obviously needs to be supplemented. Those, on the other hand, who attach little value to restrictive agencies may be reminded that public opinion has rejected the theory of free licensing, that some restriction is universally held to be necessary, that the sphere of wise restriction cannot be determined by *a priori* considerations, but must be arrived at by experience, and that definite results will be reached the most quickly by giving large liberty to the localities to carry out experiments.

It is now twenty-eight years since Mr. Bruce, on behalf of the Government of which he was a member, brought forward a comprehensive measure of licensing reform. It may be assumed that the Ministry of that day recognised the need for such legislation, and deemed that the country was prepared to accept it. But the Bill failed to become law, and, in the period that has since elapsed, the growing Temperance sentiment of the country has been unable to do more than secure the adoption of minor reforms. Are these years in the wilderness to be indefinitely prolonged, or may not the hope be entertained that the different sections of the Temperance party, and all who are anxious to stay the plague of drunkenness, will henceforth seek for grounds of united action, and by honour-

able co-operation and wise compromise obtain a general advance upon the lines of progress?

In the suggestions they have made, the writers have not included many minor reforms which rightly receive support, believing that, whilst the Temperance party should continue to press for these, the urgent need of the present time is to secure legislation which will give full opportunity for the progressive application of Temperance sentiment to the varied needs of localities in accordance with local public opinion. If communities possessed this power, reforms which are now long delayed and difficult of realization would be accomplished with comparative ease. Progress is almost indefinitely retarded when the most forward places have to wait for the most backward. "Birmingham and Dorset should not be made to walk abreast."

There can be little doubt that if Temperance reform is to advance upon the ordinary lines of social progress in this country, it must do so by giving the localities a large measure of self-government in relation to the drink traffic, and, subject to the observance of a few conditions to be laid down by Parliament, everything is to be gained by the grant of such liberty. The public opinion of the large towns, with their intelligence and municipal spirit quickened by the possession of power to deal effectively with intemperance, will shape itself in definite forms. But there must be a real liberation of the local forces.

The unreasonable limitations which now curtail the power of communities in dealing with the drink question must be removed. Public-spirited citizens will then find a new field for the fruitful exercise of their activities, and the practical sagacity of a practical race will be brought freely to bear upon a difficult but not insoluble problem.

March, 1899.

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CHAPTER I

The Statement of the Problem

“THE most remarkable instance of a combined movement in society which history perhaps will be summoned to record is that which, in our own days, has applied itself to the abatement of intemperance.”

The movement of which De Quincey thus wrote originated in 1826. From very small beginnings it has grown during seventy years to its present magnitude. No other social propaganda of the century has called forth so much unselfish effort, or enlisted so numerous a body of workers. The meetings for the promotion of Temperance held every week throughout the United Kingdom probably exceed the aggregate of those for all other social and political objects.

Nor has the result in many directions been disproportionate to the efforts put forth. The change in social customs since the hard-drinking days described by Sir George O. Trevelyan, in his *Early History of*

Charles James Fox, amounts to a revolution. "These were the days . . . when Rigby, the Paymaster of the Forces, had only one merit, that he drank fair. He used brandy as the rest of the world used small beer. Lord Weymouth, grandson of Lord Cartaret, had more than his grandfather's capacity for liquor, and a fair portion of his abilities. He constantly boozed till daylight, even when a Secretary of State. . . . 'They tell me, Sir John,' said George the Third to one of his favourites, 'that you love a glass of wine.' 'Those who have so informed your Majesty,' was the reply, 'have done me great injustice; they should have said a bottle.' Two of the friends of Philip Francis, without any sense of having performed an exceptional feat, finished between them a gallon and a half of champagne and burgundy, a debauch which in this unheroic age it almost makes one ill to read of."

Compulsory drinking usages have now been done away with. It is evidence of the advance in public sentiment on the question that within a recent year¹ the Archbishops of Canterbury and York have both invited the attention of the clergy to the claims of the Temperance movement, while Lord Wolseley, as Commander-in-Chief, has published an official Memorandum on the subject to the officers and men in the Army. The altered estimate of the physiological effect of alcohol is seen in the writings of many eminent physicians, as well as in the general usage of the medical profession. But the extraordinary fact remains that *the per capita consumption of alcohol in the*

¹ 1897-8.

United Kingdom is greater than it was in 1840, when the Temperance reformation was in its infancy.

Thus the *per capita* consumption of alcoholic liquor in the United Kingdom in 1840, as compared with 1898, was as follows:—

	1840. (Gallons.)	1898. (Gallons.)
Spirits (Proof) . . .	0·97 . . .	1·04
Wine	0·25 . . .	0·41
Beer	28·59 . . .	31·41

If the figures are reduced to a basis of *Proof Spirit* ¹ (50 per cent. alcohol), the result is as follows:—

	Gallons of Proof Spirit. ²
1840 <i>per capita</i> consumption	3·89
1898 ,, ,, 	4·30

Or, to adopt a familiar method of comparison, the expenditure per head of the population upon alcoholic drinks was in 1840 £2 18s. 10d., and in 1898 £3 16s. 10½d.

That this increase in consumption is not due to the selection of exceptional years will be seen from the subjoined table, and by reference to the more detailed figures given in the Appendix.

¹ The Spirits (Strength Ascertainment) Act, 1818 (58 Geo. III. c. 28), defines "Proof Spirit" to be that which, at a temperature of 51°, weighs $\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{8}}$ parts of an equal measure of distilled water. A gallon of proof spirit contains, approximately, 50 per cent. of alcohol.—*Board of Trade Return*, No. 408 (1897).

² The calculation is made on the ordinary basis that Wine contains 30 per cent., and Beer 10 per cent. of *Proof Spirit*.

THE TEMPERANCE PROBLEM

YEARS.	Equivalent in Proof Spirit. ¹ (Gallons.)
1841-45	3.36
1846-50	3.58
1851-55	3.75
1856-60	3.56
1861-65	3.60
1866-70	4.09
1871-75	4.78
1876-80	4.70
1881-85	3.90
1886-90	3.87
1891-95	4.08
1896	4.20
1897	4.28
1898	4.30

It will thus be seen that the increase in the *per capita* consumption of alcohol from 1841-45 to 1891-95 amounted to nearly three-fourths of a gallon of proof spirit. The highest figures were reached in 1876 (when the effects of the great wave of commercial prosperity which marked the seventies were at their height), when the *per capita* consumption rose to 4.89 gallons of proof spirit. With the subsidence of the commercial "boom" the consumption at once declined, but only to a point that was still slightly above what may be called the normal figures of the ante-1870 period. During the present decade, however, they have again steadily risen, until the consumption in 1898 was higher than it had been for a period of twenty years.

¹ The calculation is made on the ordinary basis that Wine contains 30 per cent., and Beer 10 per cent. of *Proof Spirit*.

But a *per capita* consumption which is estimated upon the basis of the entire population is obviously misleading, since it takes no account of (1) the number of abstainers, and (2) the number of children. Nor does it take into account the difference in the quantity of alcohol consumed by women as compared with men. In order, therefore, to estimate the *per capita* consumption of the actual consumers of alcohol, it will be necessary to make allowance for these. It is, unfortunately, impossible to ascertain the exact number of adult teetotalers in the United Kingdom; but, taking the lowest of the estimates usually given as the basis of calculation, it is probably safe to assume that the number of the non-drinking class (*i.e.*, teetotalers and practical abstainers) in the United Kingdom above the age of 15 is at least three millions. If we add to these the number of children under 15 years of age, who represent 35 per cent. of the entire population, or fourteen million persons, the total number of the *non-drinking* class may be estimated at seventeen million persons, thus reducing the number of actual consumers of alcohol to twenty-three millions.¹

¹ This estimate, although arrived at independently, is confirmed by an estimate made by Professor Leone Levi in 1872. In a paper read before the Royal Statistical Society in March of that year, Professor Levi estimated the number of consumers of alcohol in 1870 at 17,500,000, or 56 per cent. of the total population. On this basis of calculation the number of consumers in 1893 would be 22,400,000, and the *per capita* consumption of alcoholic liquors:—

Beer	56	gallons.
Spirits	1·83	„
Wine	0·74	„

If, then, we divide the total quantity of intoxicants consumed in 1898 by this number, it will be seen that the average *per capita* consumption of intoxicating liquors in that year by the actual consumers of alcohol was as follows:—

Beer	55	gallons.
Spirits	1.78	„
Wine	0.70	„

But it must be remembered that more than one-half of the twenty-three millions referred to are women, who, it is safe to assume, do not drink on an average more than half the quantity consumed by men. Allowing for this, the *per capita* consumption of the twenty-three millions of actual consumers would be as follows:—

	Men.		Women.
Beer . .	73 gallons	. .	37 gallons.
Spirits .	2.37 „	. .	1.19 „
Wine . .	0.93 „	. .	0.47 „

Even this does not exhaust the significance of the figures, for it must be remembered that no allowance is made in them for paupers, prisoners, etc.

If we reduce the *per capita* consumption, as shown above, to a basis of absolute alcohol, the result is as under:—

ABSOLUTE ALCOHOL.

Men	4.92	gallons, or 787	fluid ounces.
Women	2.46	„ or 393	„ „

This gives a *daily* average of 2.16 fluid ounces of absolute alcohol for every male consumer, and 1.08

fluid ounces for every female consumer—a quantity that is clearly greatly excessive.¹

EXPENDITURE UPON DRINK.

It is not here proposed to discuss the physiological aspect of the Temperance question, but the figures of alcohol consumption have a grave economic importance which no student of social and economic questions can afford to ignore.

In 1898, for example, the total expenditure on alcoholic beverages in the United Kingdom amounted to £154,480,934,² a sum equal to—

¹ Dr. Parkes (whom the late Sir Andrew Clark once publicly referred to as “the most loyal, careful, faithful, and truthful of observers whom ever it was my good fortune to know”), in referring to experiments made by Drs. Anstie, Wollowicz, and himself, says: “It may be considered, then, that the limit of the useful effect [*i.e.*, of alcohol] is produced by some quantity between one and one-and-a-half fluid ounces in twenty-four hours. There may be persons whose bodies can dispose of larger quantities; but as the experiments were made on two powerful, healthy men, accustomed to take alcohol, the average amount was more likely to be over than under-stated. In women, the amount required to produce decided bad effects must, in all probability, be less. For children, there is an almost universal consent that alcohol is injurious, and the very small quantity which produces symptoms of intoxication in them indicates that they absorb it rapidly and tolerate it badly.”—*A Manual of Practical Hygiene*, 8th Edition (1891), p. 340.

² These figures include the expenditure on British wines, cider, etc., which in 1898 amounted to £1,500,000. In estimating the total expenditure, the cost of British spirits has been taken at 20s. per gallon; foreign and colonial spirits at 24s. per gallon; beer at 54s. per barrel; and wine at 18s. per gallon. See “The Annual Drink Bill,” *Times*, February 24th, 1899.

- (1) Nearly one-and-a-half times the amount of the national revenue, or
- (2) All the rents of all the houses and farms in the United Kingdom.

It exceeded by two-and-a-fifth millions (*i.e.*, £2,199,211) the total expenditure on the same beverages in 1897.

The population of the United Kingdom in 1898, according to the official estimate, was 40,188,927 persons, so that the total amount expended on alcoholic liquors in that year represents an average expenditure of £3 16s. 10½*d.* for each man, woman, and child in the kingdom, or £19 4s. 4½*d.* for each family of five persons. These averages are, of course, purely arithmetical, the actual expenditure, both for individuals and families, varying, in the case of consumers, from sums relatively small to a large proportion of the entire personal or family income, while in the case of a considerable proportion of the population (*i.e.*, the non-consumers) no expenditure at all was incurred.¹

The seriousness of the figures becomes more fully apparent when we consider them in their relation to the working classes. It is impossible, of course, to fix precisely the amount spent by the working classes on alcoholic drinks, inasmuch as a considerable proportion of the expenditure is made from indeterminate sources; *i.e.*, either (1) what is vaguely called "pocket money," or (2) money that is intercepted before it reaches the home. For this reason, so-called "Family Budgets"

¹ If we deduct the non-consuming classes (*i.e.*, children under 15, and the three millions of non-drinkers above the age of 15), the average annual expenditure of the remaining twenty-three millions (*i.e.*, the actual consumers) is nearly doubled, amounting to £6 13s. 11*d.* per individual.

are on this point entirely unreliable and misleading. It has, however, been authoritatively estimated¹ that of the total sum represented by the national drink bill, at least two-thirds are spent by the working classes, who constitute, approximately, 75 per cent. of the population.² That is to say, of the £154,000,000 spent on drink in the United Kingdom in 1898, more than £100,000,000 must, according to this estimate, have been spent by 30,000,000 persons (representing 6,000,000 families)³ belonging to the

¹ Professor Leone Levi, *Journal of the Statistical Society*, March, 1872. This estimate has recently been accepted in a statement prepared in the interests of the Trade for the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws (July, 1897), and subsequently published as a pamphlet by Messrs. Peter Walker & Son, of Warrington. See *The Fallacies of Teetotalers*, p. 13.

² In 1882, a Special Committee of the British Association estimated the proportion of the labouring classes at 70 per cent. of the population. A similar proportion, based, however, upon different figures, is given by Mulhall, *Dictionary of Statistics*, p. 320; and by Professor Leone Levi, *Report of the British Association* (1883), p. 361; and *Wages and Earnings of the Working Classes* (1885), p. 2. For the purposes of the present discussion, however, it will be safer to take the slightly higher estimate given above, which more than allows for the relatively greater increase of the working classes in the intervening years as compared with the growth of the population as a whole.

³ This estimate is based upon a proportion of five persons to a family. The proportion in 1891, according to the official census returns, was 4·73. Mulhall (*Dictionary of Statistics*) estimated the number of working-class families in 1889 at 4,774,000, and Professor Leone Levi (1885) at 5,600,000. The latter estimate (Professor Levi's) is, however, based upon a proportion of 4·64 persons to a family. On the basis of five persons chosen above, the number of working-class families in 1885, according to Professor Leone Levi, would be 5,200,000—an estimate which, allowing for the growth of four millions in the population of the

working classes.¹ In other words, every working-class family spent on an average, in 1898, no less than £16 13s. 4d., or 6s. 5d. per week on alcoholic liquors, a sum which (assuming the average income of a working-class family to be thirty-five shillings per week)² is equal to more than one-sixth of the entire family income.

These figures, although apparently high, are supported by an estimate made by a special Committee of the British Association (consisting of Professor Leone Levi, Professor Jevons, Sir Antonio Brady, and others) in 1882. This Committee, in reporting on "the present Appropriation of Wages" and its "consonance with the economic progress of the people of the United Kingdom," distributed the expenditure of the population upon intoxicating liquors as follows:—

	Total Expenditure.	Working Classes.		Middle and Higher Classes.	
		Amount.	Per Cent. of Total.	Amount.	Per Cent. of Total.
	£	£		£	
Beer . . .	75,000,000	56,200,000	75	18,800,000	25
Spirits . . .	40,000,000	30,000,000	75	10,000,000	25
Wine. . .	9,000,000	900,000	10	8,100,000	90
	124,000,000	87,100,000	—	36,900,000	—

United Kingdom since 1885, confirms the estimate adopted above.

¹ These figures are confirmed by an estimate made by a high economic authority in 1877: "One cannot set the cost of wines, ales, and liquors, consumed by the wage-labouring classes of Great Britain, lower than £100,000,000 per annum."—Walker, *The Wages Question*, p. 350.

² See Appendix, p. 445.

Assuming the number of working-class families to be at that time 5,400,000—the number adopted by the Committee¹—the figures given above would represent an average expenditure of £16 2s. 2d. per year, or 6s. 2d. per week for each working-class family. The Committee further estimated that the total income of the working classes amounted in 1881–82 to £430,000,000, fully one-fifth of which must, therefore, according to their estimate, have been spent on intoxicating drinks.

In view of the extreme importance of these figures, it may be well to compare them with other reliable estimates. The most authoritative early estimate on the subject is that made by Mr. Dudley Baxter in his valuable work on *The Taxation of the United Kingdom*. The work was published in 1869, when the *per capita* expenditure on drink in the United Kingdom was nearly equal to that of the present time, so that the figures may fairly be used for the purpose of a general comparison. Referring, in the first instance, to the drink expenditure of the *temperate* classes only, Mr. Dudley Baxter says:—

“A *temperate town workman*, with £50 to £60 a year, will with his wife take 3 glasses a day ($1\frac{1}{2}$ pints), or (including occasional additions) 75 gallons per family per year; drinking occasionally spirits, say one or at most 2 gallons per family per year. This will be an expenditure of 2s. or 2s. 6d. a week, and is in addition to 6d. or 1s. on tobacco.

“A *temperate artisan*, with 35s. to 40s. a week, will

¹ This estimate was based upon a proportion of 4·5 persons to a family. See *Report of the British Association*, 1882, p. 301.

drink with his family 3 pints (or 6 glasses) of beer per diem, say 150 gallons per family per year, and 1 to 2 quarterns of spirits a week, or 2 to 4 gallons a year. This will represent an expenditure of 4s. 6d. to 5s. a week, and is commonly in addition to 1s. per week for tobacco."

In considering the question of *intemperate* expenditures, Mr. Baxter says:—

"*Intemperate, or excessive expenditures*, are far beyond this scale. Half the wages to the man for beer, spirits, and tobacco, and the other half to the wife for rent, and 'to do for' the family, is reported by many correspondents as not unusual. The Irish spend more than the English in proportion to their earnings; but with both English and Irish the Saturday night drinking often exhausts the week's wages. And sittings of two or three days' duration, which are sadly too frequent in some localities, make away with considerable savings." Summing up the results of his investigations, he says: "On the whole, I should estimate the *temperate expenditure* in England as: Upper and middle classes, 35 gallons of beer per head; half a gallon of diluted spirits. Manual labour classes, 20 gallons of beer per head; half a gallon of diluted spirits."¹ If we reckon the cost of beer at 1s. 6d. per gallon, and the cost of spirits at 20s. per gallon, this estimate would represent an average expenditure for every temperate working-class family in England and Wales of 3s. 10½d. per week. This average, however, let us repeat, is based upon what Mr. Baxter calls

¹ *The Taxation of the United Kingdom*, pp. 89-91.

"temperate" expenditures only, and does not include what he calls "intemperate or excessive expenditures." If allowance be made for these, the average weekly expenditures of a working-class family (according to Mr. Baxter's own figures) would amount to 5s. 9½d. per week.¹ These figures do not include wine.

Further support is given to the figures by a statement made by the late Rt. Hon. A. J. Mundella in 1883. In referring—as Vice-President of the Council on Education—to certain school-board districts in East London Mr. Mundella said: "Here is a block containing 1,082 families and 2,153 children of school age (5 to 13). In this block are 3 schools, 2 churches, 3 chapels, 3 mission rooms, and 41 public-houses. What does it mean? 1,082 families, wretched, miserable, and poverty-stricken, maintaining 41 public-houses. 1 to every 25 families, and supported by them. Consider what it takes to maintain them, and the great cause of misery is apparent. One of my inspectors states: 'In a certain square mile of East London the cost of education is a penny each family per week, and 4s. 3d. *each family for drink.*' Say 4s. yearly for education, and £11 for drink."²

An expenditure of 4s. 3d. per week in a *poor* district certainly seems to suggest that a general average of 6s. per week for the whole of the working classes is by no means an excessive estimate.

The present writers have been at considerable pains to verify these estimates by independent investigations concerning the actual or estimated expenditure

¹ See Appendix, p. 441.

² *Sheffield Independent*, December 12th, 1883.

of working men in various industries in different parts of the country. The inquiry was naturally a difficult one, and would have been altogether impossible but for the assistance rendered by a large number of helpers in different centres. No attempt was made to ascertain the *family* expenditure upon drink; the inquiry being strictly confined to the average weekly expenditure of working men *above the age of eighteen*. It is not to be assumed that the figures are in every case correct. That, it is needless to say, is impossible in an investigation of this kind, but every endeavour has been made to exclude careless and unreliable returns, and the figures may certainly be accepted as an under-statement rather than an over-statement of the actual expenditure of working men in the industries referred to.

A single fact will make this plain. Trades and industries, like individuals, vary considerably in the general standards of sobriety and thrift that they require, and similar differences appear as between different workshops and factories in the same trade. A greater strictness on the part of an employer, or—what the present inquiry has shown to be even more important in its effects upon the habits of the work-people—a special sympathy with the cause of temperance, tells very powerfully upon the sobriety of a workshop, and tends to considerably lessen the average expenditure upon drink.

Now it so happens that of the workshops and factories included in the present inquiry, a large proportion were of this kind, so that the average standard of drink expenditure which the following figures represent is probably lower than the average

for the trade taken as a whole would be. This fact, while it makes the returns somewhat less representative than they otherwise would be, secures them from the risk of over-statement.

The inquiry covered 43 general trades, some of which had several branches. The total number of men reported on was nearly 12,000, but returns were rejected in the case of more than 2,000 of these where the figures gave evidence of being excessive, or were otherwise apparently unreliable. The number of men actually included in the subjoined returns was 9,613. Of these—

1,586	or	16½%	were returned as abstainers.
2,944	or	31%	spent under 2s. per week.
2,922	or	30%	„ 2s. and under 5s. per week.
1,459	or	15%	„ 5s. „ 10s. „
535	or	5½%	„ 10s. „ 15s. „
167	or	2%	„ over 15s. per week.

9,613

If we estimate the average expenditure of class “A” (under 2s.) at 1s. 6d.; class “B” (2s. and under 5s.) at 3s. 6d.; class “C” (5s. and under 10s.) at 7s. 6d.; class “D” (10s. and under 15s.) at 12s. 6d.; and class “E” (over 15s.) at £1, the *average* weekly expenditure of the whole of the 9,613 men included in the above returns works out at 3s. 8½d. per head. The figures—as will be seen from the particulars given elsewhere¹—vary greatly in different trades, while the inquiry also showed that the average is far from

¹ See Appendix, p. 438.

being uniform in the case of different sets of men engaged in the same trade. A noteworthy instance of this occurred in the case of colliers. The *average* expenditure of 617 colliers reported on was 4s. 1¼d., but this total included one group of 307 men whose average weekly expenditure upon drink worked out at 1s. 11¼d. per head, and another group of 61 colliers whose average expenditure was 2s. 10½d. On the other hand, it included a group of 152 colliers belonging to a different part of the country whose average weekly expenditure amounted to 8s. 6¼d. per head.

One of the most remarkable features of the returns was the large proportion of men returned as "abstainers." It is probable that the proportion given (*i.e.* one in six) is greater than the actual proportion in the trades concerned, and that many men were so returned who should more properly be considered as moderate drinkers. But since the only effect of a confusion of this kind is slightly to lower the general average of expenditure without interfering with its general trustworthiness, it need not be here regarded.

The general results of the inquiry are confirmed by a large body of independent evidence which it was impossible to tabulate, but which nevertheless was of a reliable and representative character. A publican in Manchester, when questioned on the point, gave it as his opinion that "a working man of ordinary type would spend sixpence a day *quite*, say four shillings a week"—an estimate that curiously confirms the figures given above. A compositor in the Midlands—a reliable and capable man—estimated that "sixpence a day regular, and a little jollification at holiday times, might be put down for sober, steady men who never

lost time at their work." Another working man—a scholar in an adult school in Birmingham—said, "I used to spend about half my earnings (28s.) in drink and treating—didn't often get drunk." Another said, "Five shillings is a big pull out of 30s. or 35s. a week for drink, but many a man I know would be well off if he spent no more than this." A Birmingham scavenger said, "Me and my wife and two children had tightish work when I spent 6s. or 7s. a week on drink out of 24s. I gave it up three years ago."

The foreman of a railway workshop in the North quoted the case of a man known to him for twenty years "as a sample of very, very many cases which are not extreme—a man who would consider himself a 'moderate drinker.'" The man's wages amounted to £2 a week, say £100 per annum, and his expenditure was as follows:—

	Per annum.
	£
Rent (a flat)	13
Allowance to wife for food and clothing (supple- mented by Co-operative Society dividend, which was spent in clothes for wife and two children)	52
Own clothing	5
Balance (retained)	30
	<hr/>
	£100
	<hr/>

Of the £30 retained for personal expenditure, the man "spends about 10s. a week on drink—the balance on other 'pleasures,' horse-racing, etc."

It would be easy to supplement these cases with

others equally trustworthy and representative, but it is perhaps unnecessary to do so. The following statement may, however, be quoted as a final confirmation of the general accuracy of the estimates already given. The statement gives particulars of the average weekly drink expenditure of four typical workmen in the employ of a large engineering firm in London where 400 men are employed. The particulars are as follow :—

Case "A."—Married man, with five children,

ages ranging from 12 downwards : £ s. d.

Average weekly wage 2 0 0

Average weekly expenditure on drink 0 3 0

Case "B."—Married man, with six children,

ages ranging from 10 downwards :

Average weekly wage 2 10 0

Average weekly expenditure on drink 0 18 0

Case "C."—Married man, no children :

Average weekly wage 1 18 0

Average weekly expenditure on drink 0 12 0

Case "D."—Married man with two children,

aged 6 years and 18 months respectively :

Average weekly wage 1 12 0

Average weekly expenditure on drink 0 5 0

The above figures were furnished to the present writers by a thoroughly competent and trustworthy informant, who is himself a non-abstainer and employed at the same works. In referring to the figures he says: "These four men are fairly representative

of the 400; they are not notorious drunkards by any means." He adds: "Looking at the question roughly, I think it would be fair to say that the average working man spends a little more than a quarter of his weekly income on drink." Such an estimate as the last words suggest is, of course, only to be accepted as a broad generalization based upon observation of a limited number of men, but the statement as a whole, taken in conjunction with other evidence, undoubtedly strengthens a previous impression that the *average* weekly expenditure of working men on drink is greater than the average of 3s. 8½*d.* suggested by the returns given on a previous page.¹

But accepting the figures as they stand it is clear that they go far to confirm the estimate of 6s. 2*d.* *per family* adopted by the Committee of the British Association in 1882. The average of 3s. 8½*d.*, it is to be remembered, represents a *per capita* expenditure only, the inquiry being restricted to the personal expenditure (as distinct from the *family* expenditure) of working men above the age of eighteen. If to this personal expenditure could be added that of the other members of the family, it is improbable that the result would be less than 6s. per week per family.

It must also be remembered that the 9,613 adult males whose expenditures are included in the average of 3s. 8½*d.* *do not represent* 9,613 *separate families*. Only a certain proportion of them would be heads of families. A considerable number would undoubtedly be members of the same families (*i.e.*, sons or brothers), or single men representing families the heads of

¹ See p. 15.

which would be employed elsewhere, and for whom, therefore, an additional sum of 3s. 8½d. would have to be allowed before the *family* expenditure could be ascertained. In other words, since the average of 3s. 8½d. is a *personal* average only, and represents simply the expenditure of a male adult, whether single or married, it would be necessary in order to ascertain the drink expenditure of an average working-class family to allow 3s. 8½d. for each male adult above eighteen years of age living at home, and to add the result to the cost of the drink consumed by the wife and children (*i.e. all* the daughters and such of the sons as were below the age of eighteen). In the case of a family, for example, which included both the father and one son of over eighteen years of age, the weekly drink expenditure would be 7s. 5d., *plus* the cost of the drink consumed by the wife and the rest of the children living at home.

Such figures, it is needless to say, have only an approximate value, and are not to be pressed too far. Moreover, in attempting to apply them to individual cases it is necessary to remember that they are *average* figures based upon the expenditure of a considerable number of families. That a large proportion of the working classes spend very much less than the amount suggested is certain, but it is equally certain that a considerable number spend very much more, and when all possible deductions have been made it is doubtful if the average family expenditure of the working classes upon intoxicants can be reckoned at less than 6s. per week.¹

¹ For further evidence on this point, see Appendix, p. 439.

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM.

The economic seriousness of these figures, even if they are but approximately correct, can hardly be exaggerated in view of the grave social problems that still await solution, for it is important to remember that alcoholic drinks have no true or necessary relation to what is called the standard of life. That is to say, they do not belong to the category of commodities which are necessary for the real efficiency of human life. On the contrary—among the lowest paid workers at least—they can only be purchased at the cost of efficient necessities.¹

Dr. E. R. L. Gould, the Special Commissioner of the United States Labour Department, in referring to this point, says: "The danger resident in these huge national liquor bills reaches beyond misery and moral degradation. Civilization itself is menaced by this growing economic waste. If it be true—and there seems to be a general opinion to that effect—that excesses are less frequent now than formerly amongst the upper classes, the burden must be falling chiefly upon those who are relatively least able to support it. Certainly, the family budget of the wage-earner is not so flexible that liberal expenditures for drink may be made with impunity. So delicately adjusted is the balance that the status of a new generation is largely determined by the quantity of liquor the fathers consume. . . . Even those—and they are many—who cannot regard total abstinence as the last word on the subject, and must hold that drunkenness rather than drinking is the real foe to be combated, will neverthe-

¹ For a fuller discussion of this point, see p. 55.

less allow that there is ample room for reduction and, so to speak, redistribution of expenditure.”¹

The matter becomes of urgent importance when we remember how many of those upon whose efficiency the industrial prosperity of the nation ultimately depends are still below the “economical limit of subsistence.” “Progress,” says Professor Marshall, “has done much; but there still remains a great, and—in consequence of improved sanitation—perhaps a growing residuum of persons who are physically, mentally, or morally incapable of doing a good day’s work with which to earn a good day’s wage.”² That “a large portion of the wage-earning class are kept below the economical limit of subsistence,” says another eminent economist,³ “there can be no doubt.”

It is impossible to estimate, even approximately, the number of these; but if we may judge from the condition of things in London, where nearly *one and a third millions of persons*, or 30·7 per cent. of the entire population are “in poverty,”⁴ the aggregate proportion for the kingdom as a whole must be very

¹ *Popular Control of the Liquor Traffic*, p. 9.

² *Principles of Economics*, 2nd Edition, p. 737.

³ F. A. Walker, *The Wages Question*, p. 56.

⁴ Booth, *Life and Labour of the People*, vol. II., p. 21.

The classification of these 1,300,000 persons is as follows:—

37,610	form the “lowest class”—occasional labourers, loafers and semi-criminals.
316,834	form the “very poor”—casual labour, hand-to-mouth existence, chronic want.
938,293	form the “poor”—including alike those whose earnings are small because of irregularity of employment, and those whose work, though regular, is ill-paid.

1,292,737

considerable. The poverty of London is certainly in some respects exceptional, but "there is every reason to believe that the extent and nature of poverty does not widely differ in all large centres of population."¹

INTEMPERANCE AND POVERTY.

Now it would be foolish to suggest that intemperance is the sole, or even—to speak for the moment of *direct* causes only—the preponderating cause of poverty. On the contrary, it is unquestionable that to a large extent poverty is to be regarded as an industrial disease—the result of conditions and forces over which the workers have little control; while it is hardly less certain that of the intemperance that is found in intimate conjunction with poverty, a not inconsiderable proportion must be assumed to be the effect rather than the cause of the poverty.²

But when all legitimate deductions have been made, the relation between the two problems is too obvious to be seriously disputed.

Mr. Charles Booth, whose *Life and Labour of the People in London* forms the most complete analysis of the facts of poverty that has yet been attempted, has done more than any one to reduce the question under

¹ Hobson, *Problems of Poverty*, p. 6.

² It must not, however, be overlooked that while intemperance is sometimes an effect, as well as a cause, of poverty, it is a *reproductive* effect, which by demoralizing the worker still further destroys his industrial efficiency, and, as a necessary consequence, seriously aggravates the problem to be solved. The helpless despair of a sober poverty is unutterably sad, but it is not hopeless; but a poverty that deadens despair in drink creates for the statesman an almost insoluble problem.

discussion to a scientific basis, and to make an ultimate decision upon it at least approximately safe. It would not be wise, as Mr. Booth himself admits, "to generalize very confidently from an analysis of this sort, unless it can be supported by other evidence." His figures have, however, statistically one great element of value. They are "representative of *all* the poor in the districts from which they are drawn, and not only of those who apply for relief."

The figures he gives relate altogether to some 4,000 cases, 1,600 of which belonged to classes A and B¹ (the "very poor"), and 2,400 to classes C and D² (the "poor").

Of the former (*i.e.*, the cases of the "very poor") :—

- 4 per cent. were "loafers."
- 14 per cent. were attributable to drink and thriftlessness.
- 27 per cent. were attributable to "questions of circumstance" (*i.e.*, large families, illness, etc.).
- 55 per cent. were attributable to "questions of employment."

¹ Class "A" represents the lowest class of occasional labourers, loafers, and semi-criminals.

Class "B" represents the "very poor," *i.e.*, those who live in a state of chronic want.

² Class "C"—

Intermittent earnings

Class "D"—

Small regular earnings

{ Together the "poor," *i.e.*, those who live "under a struggle to obtain the necessaries of life and make both ends meet," whose family earnings vary from 18s. to 21s. per week for a family of moderate size.

Of the latter (*i.e.*, the cases of the "poor") :—

13 per cent. were attributable to drink and thriftlessness.

19 per cent. were attributable to "questions of circumstance."

68 per cent. were attributable to "questions of employment."

In his comment upon the figures, Mr. Booth says: "To those who look upon drink as the source of all evil, the position it here holds as accounting for only 14 per cent. of the poverty in the East End may seem altogether insufficient; but I may remind them that it is only as principal cause that it is here considered; as contributory cause it would no doubt be connected with a much larger proportion."¹ The latter admission is important as confirming a view that is impressing itself more and more strongly upon the minds of careful social workers; namely, That it is in their indirect and contributory influence that the drinking habits of the poor are most to be deplored. But apart altogether from this, the figures given are sufficiently serious, and it is easy to see how ominously suggestive they are when applied as a test to the sum total of our national poverty. Fourteen per cent. of 4,000 families is not in itself, perhaps, an immediately arresting figure, but 14 per cent. of the *entire poverty of the United Kingdom* presents us with really appalling facts.

The full importance of the figures becomes apparent

¹ *Life and Labour of the People*, vol. I., pp. 147-8.

when we remember that the existence of a large class of "poor" is a serious drag upon the economic progress of the nation. A nation's economic wealth, as we shall presently show, lies in the 'fitness' or 'efficiency'—moral and physical—of its workers, and everything that tends to the degradation and impoverishment of the workers tends by so much to the impoverishment of the productive forces of the nation.

POVERTY AND "UNDER-CONSUMPTION."

We have no wish, let us repeat, to suggest that intemperance is the sole *fons et origo malorum*, but its economic effects are nevertheless such as to claim the serious attention of all who are interested in industrial progress. It is undoubtedly true that if there could be universal sobriety to-morrow the problems of poverty and of unemployment would not be instantly solved, but the point we are here concerned with is the ultimate effect which such sobriety would have in stimulating industrial progress by increasing the efficiency of the workers, as well as by creating a greater demand for ordinary 'productive' commodities. The crux of the economic position, so far as it stands related to drink expenditure, is this: that *the poor cannot afford the expenditure*, that the means of subsistence as it is are insufficient for efficiency, and that an expenditure of even 4s. 3d. a week in drink (to quote Mr. Mundella's figures for East London) is purchased at the cost of other necessary and more "productive" commodities. Commercial crises (in a normal way) are said to arise from over-production. But it may be doubted if the

world has *ever* actually suffered from over-production. The radical defect in the economic situation is always one of *under-consumption*. Over-production of two million pairs of boots is not over-production while ten million people remain unshod. What is needed is to stimulate consumption, but the man who is thriftless, lazy, drunken, so far from helping consumption, stops it for himself and family. It is not only what he fails to earn, and so cannot spend, that stops consumption, but what he earns and wastefully expends; for all forms of expenditure, as is elsewhere shown,¹ have not the same economic value. Expenditure upon drink, for example, has not the same *reproductive* value to the community as expenditure upon clothes, food, books, etc.

"From the standpoint of the community," says a well-known economic writer, "nothing else than a rise in the average standard of current consumption can stimulate industry. When it is clearly grasped that a demand for commodities is the only demand for the use of labour and of capital . . . the hope of the future of our industry is seen to rest largely upon the confident belief that the working classes will use their higher wages . . . to raise their standard of life by the current satisfaction of all those wholesome desires of body and mind which lie latent under an 'economy of low wages.' . . . If there are theoretic economists who still hold that 'a demand for commodities is not a demand for labour,' they may be reminded that a paradox is not necessarily true. . . . The growing opinion of economic students is veering

¹ See pp. 60-61.

round to register in theory the firm empirical judgment from which the business world has never swerved, that a high rate of consumption is the surest guarantee of progressive trade."¹

The Temperance advocate may often appear to overlook important factors in the economic problem, but at least he does not over-estimate the importance of moral defects. They have an economic importance that can hardly be exaggerated. They lower the ideal and the standard of life for the man and his family; whereas thrift, sobriety, moral purpose, tend to widen the outlook upon life. They open out a vista of new needs and possibilities, creating new demands, stimulating inventions, and multiplying the commodities to be consumed. Industries really are the outcome of a quickened imagination, and the number of commodities open to the competition of commerce at any given time depends upon the measure of awakened intelligence that exists in a people. In the early stages of civilization the world knows few needs, and therefore has few industries, but as man develops he awakes to new needs, and demands new commodities, and so industries develop and multiply. Does any one doubt that if all men and women became thrifty, sober, and efficient citizens tomorrow, with an extended outlook, a wider moral and intellectual vision, we should soon have a marvellous development of existing industries, and the establishment of many new ones?²

¹ J. A. Hobson, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, pp. 283-4.

² See also p. 61.

There may be—there undoubtedly are—factors of gravest urgency in the problem of poverty which on proposals for Temperance reform could cover or meet, but it would be folly therefore to deny to these proposals their legitimate place in the solution of the social problem. So long as the vice of intemperance remains what it is to-day, so long will the utmost efforts of the political economist be hindered and thwarted. “An economic millennium,” it has been well said, “would be an epoch in which there was no Waste:—no waste of human lives, no ignoble sloth, no disease and decrepitude, engendered by ignorance or neglect of natural laws, no waste of useful things in vulgar, insolent vanity; above all, no waste of health, substance, and self-respect in drunkenness and its attendant vices.”¹

RELATION OF DRINK EXPENDITURE TO “EFFICIENCY.”

Apart, however, from any general discussion of the causes of poverty, it can easily be shown that the drink expenditure of a considerable number of working men is made at the cost of efficiency. In other words, there is no margin in their weekly incomes for such expenditure if the interests of the future are to be considered. Sir George O. Trevelyan, speaking in the House of Commons on May 12th, 1890, put the matter with great clearness. “The Government last year,” he said, “issued a very interesting Report,²

¹ William Newmarch, F.R.S., *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science*, 1871.

² See *Board of Trade Return C.*—5861, 1889.

showing the expenditure of the working-man householder; and it appeared from that that even the better sort of artizans, after defraying the ordinary household expenses, have hardly any margin left for expenditure on drink. A working man who is in the habit of drinking cannot have his glass of beer and have done with it. He can hardly spend less than 4s. or 5s. a week on drink, and where that is to come from out of his little budget it is difficult to imagine.”¹

It will give definiteness to our discussion of this matter if we consider, first of all, what are the *necessaries* for the efficiency of an ordinary labourer and his family. According to Professor Marshall, the “necessaries for the efficiency of an ordinary agricultural or of an unskilled town labourer and his family, in England, in this generation” consist of “a well-drained dwelling with several rooms, warm clothing, with some changes of under-clothing, pure water, a plentiful supply of cereal food, with a moderate allowance of meat and milk, and a little tea, etc., some education and some recreation, and lastly, sufficient freedom for his wife from other work to enable her to perform properly her maternal and her household duties. If in any district unskilled labour is deprived of any of these things, its efficiency will suffer in the same way as that of a horse that is not properly tended, or a steam-engine that has an inadequate supply of coals.”² “Perhaps at present prices,” he continues, “the strict necessities for an average agri-

¹ *Hansard's Debates*.

² *Principles of Economics*, 2nd Edition, p. 121.

cultural family are covered by fifteen or eighteen shillings a week, the conventional necessities by about five shillings more. For the unskilled labourer in the town a few shillings must be added to the strict necessities. For the family of the skilled workman living in a town we may take twenty-five or thirty shillings for strict necessities, and ten shillings for conventional necessities.”¹

Now it needs little argument to show that such a standard of ‘necessaries’ is altogether beyond the reach of several millions of the people of the United Kingdom at the present time; and although the causes of this fact lie deeper than the problem of intemperance, the fact itself shows the economic seriousness of the widespread expenditure upon drink.

But the matter can be brought to an even closer test. It will be generally admitted that “no sanitary necessity can be more real than the common animal need of proper food,—that no morbid influence can be of worse import to life than mere privation of nourishment.” These “are propositions which every one feels to be true, when they are illustrated in individual cases of death by starvation, or in those national extreme sufferings of scarcity which constitute famine. But the propositions are not exclusively true in that utmost range of their application. In degrees far short of what is known properly as starvation or famine, insufficiency of nourishment may bring very hurtful consequences to health. Local defects or local peculiarities of diet may exercise important influence in determining or colouring par-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

ticular localizations of disease. And generally it may be said that, in order justly to estimate the sanitary circumstances of a people, scientific regard must be had to the quantity and quality of the people's meat and drink." ¹

The harm inflicted by a diet which is defective in albumen especially is very great. It is not made apparent, says a well-known Italian economist, "by laboratory experience: only statistical induction is able to reveal what is, in this case, a cardinal law of human physiology. We can scarcely, by means of experiments in a laboratory, see an individual nourished on a small allowance of albuminoid substances losing ground at one stroke: an experiment on the other hand is too brief in duration to allow us to follow save for a very slight interval the effects of denutrition. Where, however, the physiologist can only obtain glimpses by means of particular experiments, statistics are able to reveal clearly when applied to the collective life of peoples. Partial starvation in the supply of albumen does not act at one blow, nor does it kill; but the people or the class afflicted by it either pine slowly, or do not develop. Slackness in muscular vigour, which is made especially evident in weak labour-energy, low stature, an irrepressible tendency to compensating idleness, an emaciated aspect, a low power of resisting disease—these are the inevitable effects of this kind of starvation, which no moral law can conquer, and which, as in the case of

¹ *Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council, 1863, p. 11.*

the small folk of Naples, stamps a whole nation or class with the stigma of degradation.”¹

The quantity and kind of food required vary according to the nature of the work to be done. If the work is light and intermittent, a cheap but nutritious grain diet will for the most part suffice; but wherever the physical or nervous strain is continuous, a food is required which can be easily digested and assimilated. It can hardly be doubted that more flesh is consumed by a large part of our population than is absolutely necessary or desirable. But this, says Sir Henry Thompson, “is mostly to be observed among those who possess ample means, and whose employments do not necessarily demand great muscular exertion, exposure in all weathers, or other causes of wear and tear to the animal tissues. Where exercise is very largely taken and manual labour is hard and prolonged, the concentrated and easily digested proteids of flesh are the most valuable food for man’s purpose. Where there is but little physical labour or activity, a smaller proportion is mostly advisable; and a better state of bodily health may be generally assured by adopting an animal food—fish, poultry, and game, for example—less rich perhaps in proteids, and especially so in fat, than are beef or mutton, together with a considerable proportion of the products of vegetable origin. The selection, however, has to be judiciously made.”²

But the point here to be insisted upon is, that for

¹ Nitti, *Economic Journal*, March, 1896, p. 50. See also Manfredi, *Sull’ alimentazione nelle classi povere del popolo di Napoli*, pp. 72-3.

² *Food and Feeding*, 9th Edition (1898), p. 35.

the great army of workers there is a minimum standard of nourishment below which they can only sink at the cost of physical and mental efficiency. The question to be determined, then, is: What is this minimum standard? In other words: What is the minimum quantity of food required by the working classes for efficiency?

FOOD AND EFFICIENCY.

In the Appendix to the present volume,¹ a careful attempt has been made to give a general answer to this question. The estimates there given are, of course, only to be accepted as approximate, the available data being too meagre and uncertain to make strictly accurate conclusions possible. Physiologists themselves, although generally agreed as to the quantity of food necessary for *bare existence*, are not so generally agreed as to the quantity necessary for *efficient* subsistence. For the convenience of the present argument the estimates referred to may here be briefly summarized. It should be stated that in the calculation of the *family* expenditure a wife has been estimated to require eight-tenths as much food as her husband, while two children have been reckoned as one adult.²

¹ See p. 446.

² These proportions are based upon a comparison of the most generally accepted estimates.

Statement showing the necessary weekly expenditure on food for a family of *five persons* on the scale of:—

	£	s.	d.
(1) Diet of indoor paupers in the <i>White-chapel Workhouse</i> (assuming each child to receive half the quantity of food allowed to an adult pauper) . .	0	13	9
(2) Diet of indoor paupers in the <i>St. Pancras Workhouse</i>	0	16	1 ¹
(3) Professor Atwater's estimate of <i>cheapest rations</i> based on Professor Voit's standard for a " <i>labouring man at moderate work</i> ," 12s. to 13s. 6d. say .	0	12	9
(4) Regulation allowance (partial diet only) of a <i>British soldier</i> in time of peace	0	12	8
(5) Regulation diet of an <i>American soldier</i>	1	2	2
(6) Dr. Meinert's estimate (<i>i.e.</i> , for a ration with nutrients a little in excess of the standard for a labouring man at moderate work)	0	17	0
(7) Average weekly food expenditure of 237 men in an American workmen's boarding-house for a period of thirty-nine weeks	0	17	7
Average, 16s. per week.			

¹ If we assume the children to be fed on the same diet as the children in the workhouse schools, the cost would be 22s. per week.

Now, without attempting to lay undue stress upon these figures, or to claim for them an exactness which they do not and cannot possess, it is nevertheless impossible, in the face of them, to avoid two conclusions: First, that, as things are at present, a large proportion of the working classes do not receive sufficient nourishment for *efficient* subsistence; and, secondly, that a much larger proportion have absolutely *no margin in their weekly incomes for expenditure upon alcoholic drinks*. It is unnecessary to do more than glance at the preceding figures to realize the truth of this. It will hardly be suggested, for example, that the diet of an indoor pauper is an extravagant diet for a robust working man or a busy working woman. On the contrary, it is clearly insufficient. The total allowance in the case of the Whitechapel pauper, according to Mrs. Barnett,¹ amounts to no more than "10½ oz. of carbonaceous food and 2¼ oz. of nitrogenous food, against the estimated quantity of 16 oz. carbonaceous and 4 oz. nitrogenous, which is the necessary allowance for ordinary people, and against the 25 oz. of carbonaceous and 5 oz. nitrogenous, which is the regulation diet of the Royal Engineers during peace." And yet even on this scanty diet the necessary weekly expenditure of a family of five persons (reckoning the three children as 1½ paupers) would amount to nearly 14s. per week, while on the somewhat higher scale of the St. Pancras Workhouse it would amount to 16s. per week. These sums, it must be remembered, represent the cost of

¹ *Practicable Socialism*, 2nd Edition (1894), p. 20.

the food *at cheap contract prices*, and not at the prices paid by the poor. But it is clearly impossible for an ordinary unskilled labourer to feed himself and his family on this pauper scale so long as he spends even the average amount of his class on drink. For instance, a weekly expenditure of 15s. per family on food (the mean of the two workhouse diets) added to an expenditure of 6s. per week on drink (the average of a working-class family) *would absorb the entire family income of one and a third million persons in London alone*, and leave absolutely nothing for rent, clothes, fuel, lighting, furniture, household utensils, etc. Even if we take the drink expenditure at a lower figure, namely, the 4s. 3d. per family stated by Mr. Mundella to be the average weekly expenditure of the poor in a district of East London, the result is practically the same, only 1s. 9d. *per week* being left out of an income of £1 1s. per week, for rent, clothes, fuel, lighting, etc. These figures refer, it must be remembered, to families of five persons. But, as every one knows, there are thousands of labourers' families that consist of six, seven, and eight persons. In all such cases the expenditure upon drink must force down the level of subsistence to a point that cannot be contemplated without dismay.

It may perhaps be said that the drinking habits of the poor are often provoked by non-nutrition; that ill-nourished bodies crave the momentary stimulus which alcoholic liquors give, and that the people are thus insensibly drawn into intemperance. That non-nutrition is often a *cause* as well as an *effect* of intemperance cannot be disputed. The evidence on the

point is overwhelming. But this is far from being an economic justification of the expenditure. It is impossible even in such cases to overlook the fact that the money spent on alcohol would often go far, with good management, to supply the deficiency in diet. In any case, the very inadequacy of the means of subsistence makes it a matter of vital moment that there shall be a wise economy of expenditure. An official return, made in 1889, gives over 40,000 children in the London Board Schools, or nearly 10 per cent. of the number on the roll, as habitually attending in want of food, to which number returns from Voluntary schools add about 11,000 in the same condition. "The returns," says Mr. Charles Booth, "were somewhat loosely made during a period of exceptional distress, and the figures are doubtless in excess of the facts, but there is abundant evidence that the aggregate of children underfed at home is deplorably large. . . . Puny, pale-faced, scantily clad, and badly shod, these small and feeble folk may be found sitting limp and chill on the school benches in all the poorer parts of London. They swell the bills of mortality as want and sickness thin them off, or survive to be the needy and enfeebled adults whose burden of helplessness the next generation will have to bear. Unhappily, in many cases, this semi-starved condition of the child is due not to poverty alone, but to drink, neglect, or vice at home. The practised eye can readily distinguish children of this class by their shrinking or furtive look, their unwholesomeness of aspect, their sickly squalor, or it may be by their indescribable pathos, the little shoulders bowed so helplessly beneath the burden of the

parents' vice. 'How was it you came to school without any breakfast this morning?' I asked a forlorn little lad one day. 'Mother got drunk last night, and couldn't get up to give me any,' was the reply given, as if it were an ordinary incident in the child's daily life. It is from houses of this class also that the majority of children come whose irregular attendance is the torment of the teacher, and the cause of so much waste of the public money."¹

In describing, a little later, the districts in which the lower class schools are found, Mr. Booth says: "Public-houses are usually abundant in a neighbourhood like this. Sometimes we find as many as one to every eighty or a hundred adults, all thriving on the custom they receive. It is not always easy to specify the individual drinkers, but with so many of these houses kept going by a population on the verge of pauperism, it is clear that the feeding of his children cannot in all cases be a first charge on the parent's earnings. Pawnshops, too, are handy of access; and in them may be often found the little jackets, boots, and petticoats, which account for the half-clad condition of the children in the schools."²

Elsewhere, in referring to a "Special Difficulty"³ school, Mr. Booth says: "Under-feeding and irregular attendance, the teacher tells us, next to the stringency of the Code, are the two great difficulties with which

¹ *Life and Labour of the People*, vol. III., pp. 207-8.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 210-211.

³ A "Special Difficulty" school is one containing any large proportion of children from drunken and irregular homes. There are 22 such schools in London, containing in all about 21,000 children.

they have to contend. Nearly a third of the children here have free tickets for the Penny Dinner Centre close by, and more are needing them. Many, but for these free meals, would starve; and to teach a starving child up to the requirements of the Code taxes not only a teacher's energies, but his conscience too. As usual, however, poverty alone is not to blame. One child after another we notice with the peculiarly squalid pallor that marks habitual under-feeding, and find that he comes from a drunken home. So with the attendance. A fixed set come well—some hardly ever miss. Others come indifferently well. And a fixed set, from 18 to 20 per cent., come badly, and these with scarcely an exception are from the worst and most irregular homes.”¹

RENT, CLOTHING, ETC.

The matter becomes even more serious when we consider that food, although of first importance, is only *one* of the vital necessities of life. “After food,” says Professor Marshall, “the next necessities of life and labour are clothing, house-room, and firing. When they are deficient, the mind becomes torpid, and ultimately the physical constitution is under-

¹ In this connection it may be added that Mr. Wm. White, J.P. of Birmingham, in a recent communication to the present writers, states: “Having during the past ten years to deal as a magistrate with more than 14,000 cases of neglect of parents in not sending their children to school, *I do not hesitate to say that 13,000 of these cases originated through the drinking habits of the parents.*”

mined.”¹ “Even of those,” says another economist,² “whose lot is more fortunate, but a very small proportion, in any of the older countries, have in their lodging the light and air which the least exacting hygiene declares to be essential to the harmonious development and adequate sustentation of the bodily powers.” The “falling off in the quantity or quality of food and clothing, and in the convenience and healthfulness of the shelter enjoyed, will at once affect the efficiency of the labourer. With less food, which is the fuel of the human machine, less force will be generated; with less clothing, more force will be wasted by cold; with scantier and meaner quarters, a fouler air and diminished access to the light will prevent the food from being duly digested in the stomach, and the blood from being duly oxidized in the lungs; will lower the tone of the system, and expose the subject increasingly to the ravages of disease.”³

The actual conditions under which large numbers of the working classes live are discussed so fully elsewhere⁴ that they need not be further emphasized at this point. But the fact with which we are here concerned is, that, deplorable as those conditions too often are, they nevertheless entail so heavy and indispensable a charge upon the limited incomes of the people, as to make expenditure upon drink, from a strictly economic point of view, even more indefen-

¹ *Principles of Economics*, 2nd Edition, p. 254.

² Walker, *The Wages Question*, p. 64.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-5.

⁴ See pp. 367-79.

sible. A report issued by the Labour Department of the Board of Trade in 1889¹ showed that the cost of rent in the case of 34 working men² living in different parts of the country, varied from 12 to 20 per cent. of their total income,³ the percentage increasing in inverse ratio to income. A proportion of one-fifth is certainly a serious charge upon the ordinary incomes of the working classes, but there can be no doubt that in our largest cities the proportion actually paid for rent is very much more than this. In Central London the average rent is six shillings per week *per room*, while in the crowded districts of Soho the rent of three-room tenements ranges from 14s. to 25s. per week.⁴ Mr. Marchant Williams, an Inspector of Schools for the London School Board, found that 86 per cent. of the dwellers in certain poor districts of London pay more than one-fifth of their incomes in rent; 46 *per cent. paying from one-half to one-quarter*.⁵

In the face of such figures as these, can anything be more absolutely indefensible than an expenditure of from four to six shillings per week on drink? It is no part of the present inquiry to discuss the problem of high rents. Such a question lies outside the scope of the present argument. All that we are concerned here to show is, that, *rents being what they are*, the ordinary unskilled labourer who spends (either alone

¹ *Board of Trade Return*, C—5861. 1889.

² Of these 6 were miners; 5 joiners; 8 engineers; 2 shoemakers; 3 printers; 2 clerks; and 8 "general."

³ The incomes ranged from £28 to £150 per annum, the average income being £73 per annum, or £1 8s. per week.

⁴ See *Life in West London*, pp. 42-4.

⁵ Hobson, *Problems of Poverty*, p. 10.

or in conjunction with his family) from four to six shillings per week on drink, is leaving himself and them no chance of a healthy and efficient existence. Nor is it the poorer class of labourers' families only who suffer. Even if we raise the limit of income to thirty shillings per week, the economies necessary to provide the drink expenditure must still be severe. A drink expenditure of six shillings per week, added to a rent of six shillings (the cost of a single room in Central London) would leave exactly eighteen shillings a week for food and all other purposes. If from this sum we deduct a further sum of fifteen shillings per week for food, there would remain a balance of *three shillings a week* for clothing, fuel, lighting, furniture, household utensils, medical attendance, recreation, thrift, and the hundred and one incidental expenses of ordinary domestic life. And even then the parents would only receive the diet of a workhouse pauper, and the children little more than *half* the diet of a child in the St. Pancras Workhouse Schools. This, be it remembered, is for a family of *five* persons only (*i.e.* husband, wife, and *three* children). In the innumerable cases where there are more than three children in a family, the level of subsistence must fall still lower. "How is it done?" it may be asked. The answer is simply that it is not and cannot be done. If one-fifth of a limited income be spent in drink, economies must be practised somewhere, and since rent, reduced to its lowest limits by unwholesome crowding, remains an inflexible quantity, food must be stinted, and expenditure upon clothing, fuel, etc., reduced to limits that are not only relatively, but absolutely, destructive of efficiency.

We have no wish to labour the point. The facts are too ominous for more than bare statement, but they claim the gravest attention from those who desire to estimate the conditions of social well-being. They do not constitute the whole of the social problem, but they certainly represent one of its most serious elements.

RELATION OF STANDARD OF LIVING TO INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY.

If we look at the question from a merely industrial point of view, its gravity is sufficiently apparent. The economic position of nations is, to a large extent, one of food and of standard of living. "Wherever we see peoples and classes descending in their diet below the standard necessary for a moderate labourer, or barely reaching that limit, we may be confident that in the fight for work these peoples and classes will never fill but an inferior function, and will not reach the higher rungs of the industrial ladder."¹ For what after all is labour? It is simply physical and muscular exertion made economically valuable by intellectual guidance. "The greater the intellectual force and physical power introduced by the labourer, co-operating with equally well-developed auxiliary and surrounding conditions, the greater must be the sum of the products created. But to this we must add the further and most important fact, that labour, be it ever so intelligently conducted, will

¹ Nitti, "The Food and Labour Power of Nations," *Economic Journal*, March, 1896.

always remain physical exertion. This is to say that labour is an expenditure of vital force. Unless this is replaced by wholesome nutrition (air, light, sanitation, and even cheerful surroundings, are part of wholesome nutrition) the frame will work itself out, and labour will become economically of smaller and smaller value.”¹

The older economic view—the view of the so-called Physiocrats especially—was based upon the now exploded theory that ill-paid (and, consequently, ill-nourished) labour lessened the cost of production. It limited the term ‘necessaries’ to those things which were sufficient to enable the labourers, taken one with another, to support themselves and their families. “In happier times, however,” as Professor Marshall reminds us, “a more careful analysis has brought into prominence the distinction between the necessities for efficiency and the necessities for existence, and has made it evident that there is for each rank of industry, at any time and place, a more or less clearly defined income which is necessary for merely sustaining its members; while there is another and larger income which is necessary for keeping it in full efficiency. Thus, in the South of England population has increased during the present century at a fair rate, allowance being made for migration. But the efficiency of labour, which in earlier times was as high as that in the North of England, has sunk relatively to the North; so that the low-waged labour of the South is often dearer than the more highly paid labour of the North. This indicates that we cannot

¹ Schoenhof, *The Economy of High Wages*, p. 392.

say whether the labourers in the South have been supplied with Necessaries, unless we know in which of these two senses the word is used. They have had the bare necessities for existence and the increase of numbers, but they have not had the necessities for efficiency.”¹

What the employer will get out of his workman, says another well-known economist,² “will depend very much on what he first gets into him. Not only are bone and muscle to be built up and kept up by food, but every stroke of the arm involves an expenditure of nervous energy which is to be supplied only through the alimentary canal. What a man can do in twenty-four hours will depend very much on what he can have to eat in those twenty-four hours; or perhaps it would be more correct to say, what he has had to eat the twenty-four hours previous. If his diet be liberal, his work may be mighty. If he be underfed, he must underwork. So far away as the Hundred Years’ War Englishmen were accustomed to assign a more generous diet as the reason why their ‘beef-fed knaves’ so easily vanquished their traditional enemies, and even into this century, the island writers were accustomed to speak as if still for the same reason, in work at least if not in war,

‘Upon one pair of English legs did march three Frenchmen.’³

¹ *Principles of Economics*, 2nd Edition, p. 120.

² Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-5.

³ “Each Frenchman consumes on an average 16 oz. of wheaten bread a day; each Englishman 32 oz.; the former

"Of course in this, as in every other department of expenditure, there is an economical maximum, where the greatest proportional return is received. . . . With the labourer the economical maximum of expenditure on food is reached far short of the point at which 'gorging and guzzling' begin; it shuts off everything that partakes of luxury or ministers to delicacy; yet till that maximum be reached every addition to food brings a proportional, or more than proportional, addition of working strength. To stop far short of that limit and starve the labouring man is as bad economy as to rob the engine of its fuel."

The matter is not one of theory but of practical experience. "One of the most intelligent manufacturers I ever met," says Dr. Gould, the Special Commissioner of the United States Labour Department,¹ "told me a few years ago he would be only too glad to pay higher wages to his working people, provided they would spend the excess legitimately and not hoard it." A similar remark is quoted by Mr. Schoenhof:² "'They don't eat and don't work,' said a shoe manufacturer of Vienna, when we compared notes on the productiveness of Austrian and German labour and of American labour. 'Bread and beer-swilling and an occasional bit of sausage cannot give strength sufficient to compete with you.'"³ It is

1½ oz. of meat; the latter 6 oz."—Alison, *Europe*, 1815-51, chap. VII., sec. 126.

¹ *Contemporary Review*, January, 1893.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

³ Another American economist, (Mr. Edward Atkinson), in a work published in 1886, says: "It has been found expedient for the employers of labour in certain brickyards of Massachu-

necessary, of course, in pursuing this argument to distinguish between two different forms or aspects of efficiency. "There is the efficiency due to sheer strength, brute force, and endurance; and there is the efficiency due to the cultivated and intelligent skill of the trained artizan. There is the efficiency that is born of the improvement of processes and machinery, in which the worker not only generally bears a subordinate part, but in consequence of which he is often transformed from a subtle thinker and a deft worker, into a self-acting tool; and there is the efficiency consequent upon the possession and exercise of higher skill and greater concentration of energy."¹

The demand for 'brute force' is no longer what it was when the man's hand and arm turned the spinning wheel and drove the shuttle. At the present time, thanks to improvements in machinery, less than one-sixth of the industrial classes in England are engaged on work requiring special muscular exertion. The force exerted by steam-engines alone is more than twenty times as much as could be done by the muscles of all Englishmen.² But, great as the change has been, it cannot be said to have encouraged the

setts and Connecticut to serve their workmen with a supply of the best food which represents in its chemical proportions, as well as in its calorics, twice the ration which is served to the soldier of the German army when upon a forced march, or when engaged in the most arduous struggle of active service in war, in order to promote the largest production of brick per man at the lowest cost to the employer."—*The Food Question in America and Europe*.

¹ J. S. Jeans, *Statistical Journal*, December, 1892.

² Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

lowering of the standards of efficiency, nor to have made it possible for ill-nourished and ill-developed workers to compete more successfully with their rivals at home and abroad. The demand for muscular exertion has been replaced by a demand for attention and skill, and the standards of necessary efficiency have been by so much enhanced. "Though as a rule," says a writer already quoted,¹ "machinery tends to take over the heavier forms of muscular work, it also tends to multiply the minor calls upon the muscles, until the total strain is not much less than before. What relief is obtained from muscular effort is compensated by a growing strain upon the nerves and upon the attention. Moreover, as the machinery grows more complex, numerous, and costly, the responsibility of the machine-tender is increased. To some considerable extent the new effort imposed upon the worker is of a more refined order than the heavy muscular work it has replaced. But its tax upon the physique is an ever-growing one. 'A hand-loom weaver can work thirteen hours a day, but to get a six-loom weaver to work thirteen hours is a physical impossibility.' The complexity of modern machinery, and the superhuman celerity of which it is capable, suggest continually an increased compression of human labour, an increased output of effort per unit of time. This has been rendered possible by acquired skill and improved physique ensuing on a higher standard of living."

¹ Hobson, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, p. 276.

CHANGES IN INDUSTRIAL COMPETITION.

It is the more necessary to concentrate attention on this point by reason of changes that are rapidly shifting the centres of commercial activity and intensifying the forces of industrial competition. In the commercial world things are not as they were. Other nations have been moving up to our own standards of efficiency, so that British labour "does not enjoy the same incontestably high relative position that it formerly did." The fact, in short, as Mr. Benjamin Kidd has lately reminded us,¹ has "begun to make itself more and more distinctly felt that the competing nations in most cases possess but little advantage one over the other, and that the probable tendency is for even this to become less." Within the last thirty years Germany, Belgium, and even Russia, have transformed themselves economically. The two former especially are now highly developed industrial states claiming a large share of the world's markets; while we are also face to face with the unprecedented competition of the United States. The conditions of industrial competition are, therefore, wholly changed, and the question of efficiency—mental and physical—has become one of paramount importance.

At present our most highly equipped—and therefore most formidable—competitors are our kinsmen across the Atlantic. America is commercially formidable, not merely because of her gigantic enterprise and almost illimitable resources, but because, as recent

¹ *The Control of the Tropics*, p. 4.

investigations have shown,¹ her workers are better nourished and possess a relatively higher efficiency. Dr. E. R. L. Gould, in a survey of the results of a most exhaustive inquiry recently undertaken by the United States Labour Department, says: "A second element in a just social standard for an industrial labourer is food. We see from the double column wherein the figures are portrayed, that in practically every instance the largest absolute but the smallest relative sum falls to the American. Does this mean that the family of the working man in America is better nourished than abroad? I believe it does, and principally for two reasons: the family in the United States is smaller, and therefore with the largest sum of money spent the amount *per capita* is considerably greater. But does higher expenditure mean more food? We may answer affirmatively, because a greater quantity of the principal articles in a working man's menu can be had for an equal amount of money in the New World."²

The conclusion which Dr. Gould thus reaches is made evident by the following table which Professor Nitti has compiled from Dr. Gould's data.³ Taking 100 as the price of any given commodity in the United States, Professor Nitti finds that the European nations in which inquiry has been made stand in the following relations:—

¹ See *Sixth and Seventh Annual Reports of the U.S. Commissioner of Labour, Washington*.

² *The Contemporary Review*, January, 1893, pp. 139-40. See also Appendix, p. 457.

³ See *Economic Journal*, March, 1896, p. 39.

Commodity.	United States.	Belgium.	Great Britain.	Germany.	France.
Meat	100	147	150	123	152
Potatoes . . .	100	70	103	50	119
Butter	100	109	104	122	135
Sugar	100	151	50	119	184
Coffee	100	113	140	119	167

The great superiority of working-class nutriment in the United States comes out still more clearly in the subjoined table.

Commodity.	100 representing quantity consumed in U.S., the European workman ¹ consumes :
Meat	33
Bacon (or fat)	50
Eggs	85
Butter	100
Flour	100
Potatoes	175
Sugar	25
Coffee	85

"The columns in which expenditure for alcoholic drinks are exposed," says Dr. Gould, "present food for serious reflection. National pride will no doubt be flattered to learn that American families spend the smallest sums for this purpose. Not only so, but there must also be a smaller *per capita* consumption, since the prices of alcoholic drinks are higher in the New World. Still, this is only a partial satisfaction. If

¹ The figures refer to the *average* consumption of the British, Belgian, German and French workmen (taken together) employed in the industries investigated.

we conceive that the American spends too much, the European, to whom the struggle for existence is keener, wastes more." In summing up the results of the inquiry, Dr. Gould says: "What inferences are we to draw from the foregoing statistics? Unmistakably this, that higher daily wages in America do not mean a correspondingly enhanced labour cost to the manufacturer. But why so? . . . The real explanation I believe to be, that greater physical force, as the result of better nourishment in combination with superior intelligence and skill, make the working man in the United States more efficient. His determination to maintain a high standard of life causes him to put forth greater effort, and this reacts to the benefit of the employer as well as to his own. We should give the principal credit of the higher wages in America neither to the manufacturer, the tariff, nor any other agency, but the working man himself, who will not labour for less than will enable him to live on a high social plane. That he can carry out his policy with but little disadvantage to his employer in economic competition, teaches a lesson of far-reaching importance. Instead of a Ricardian *régime*, where the wages of labour become barely sufficient to permit a sustentation of effort and a reproduction of kind, it looks as if ere long the world's industrial supremacy would pass to those who earn the most and live the best." ¹

We are then face to face with this supreme necessity: Either we must grapple with the forces that undermine

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 151-52. See also on the same subject the *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labour* (1896).

our national strength and weaken our industrial efficiency, or be content to fall behind in the struggle for commercial supremacy. Nations, like animals, as the late Lord Playfair long ago reminded us,¹ "have their changing struggles for existence. To remain prosperous they must possess the conditions which Herbert Spencer prescribes for individual welfare: 'a constant progress towards a higher degree of skill, intelligence, and self-regulation—a better co-ordination of actions; a more complete life.'" The actual material wealth of our cities, as another careful thinker points out,² is "simply in their effective population plus their effective material surroundings. Here, then, the question again is of life and surroundings, of 'organism and environment,' of evolution or degeneration, and it is best to treat it so. The working classes, like any other, will be in well-being in proportion as they become healthy organisms, leading fuller lives in richer surroundings both of art and nature, adjusted to satisfy all their needs alike, not only the fundamental but the supreme ones; and they are in ill-being until some approximation to that state of affairs is reached. Remedies are indeed offered on all hands . . . panaceas for every symptom of our disordered social state are also proffered, but the social disease lies deeper. Reproduction has outrun individuation; the mere growth of our cities has outrun their real development. Our progress is as yet only 'quantity not quality.' . . . Remedial treatment then demands a raising of the whole character and aims of

¹ *Subjects of Social Welfare*, p. 309.

² Patrick Geddes, *The Conditions of Progress of the Capitalist and of the Labourer*.

our civilization, yet this would only be the sum of that raised and ennobled standard of individual living, at which no one need think it Utopian to aim. . . . Only thus can we ever hope to realize the aim of practical economics, which is not illusory progress visible only in census returns and bank ledgers, but is the progressive development of the highest human and social life—not the Increase of Wealth, but the Ascent of Man."

TEMPERANCE AND THE "STANDARD OF LIFE."

It is as we pursue this line of inquiry that we find the true answer to the familiar objection that Temperance, by lowering the standard of a working man's requirements, tends to endanger the standard of wages. The objection is plausible enough to give it an appearance of weight; but none the less it is entirely misleading. It starts by assuming two utterly erroneous propositions. First, that materialistic considerations are the only factors in economic progress; and, secondly, that the standard of life is a fixed and permanent standard, in which, moreover, alcohol has a recognised and natural place. It will be convenient to consider these conclusions conjointly; indeed, they cannot strictly be separated. To begin with, it is a serious mistake to assume that the standard of life is a fixed and invariable quantity. On the contrary, it is always relative to a given time and place, and to a given set of moral and intellectual conditions. Moreover, it is affected, both directly and indirectly, by every fresh achievement in the physical, intellec-

tual, and moral progress of the individual and of the community. The habitual drunkard requires (*i.e.*, is satisfied with) little food, little or no intellectual stimulus, and few interests. The sober man, on the other hand, requires more, and better, food; greater decencies; and wider and more varied interests. In a word, he is ever reaching forward towards a higher standard of life. Hence it is that we may safely assert (what, indeed, we know historically to be the fact) that sobriety, as a part of the moral advancement of mankind, so far from diminishing, tends unflinching to raise the standard of life, and therefore the standard of wages also.¹ Further, as has been pointed out, the objection assumes that alcohol has a necessary and natural place in the standard of life. So far from this being the case, it has been clearly shown that indulgence in alcoholic drinks (so far as a large proportion of the workers are concerned) can only be maintained by *lowering* the standard of life. As a matter of fact, it may safely

¹ "Let us take the term the Standard of Life to mean the Standard of Activities and of Wants. Thus a rise in the Standard of Living implies an increase of intelligence, and energy and self-respect; leading to more care and judgment in expenditure, and to an avoidance of food and drink that gratify the appetite but afford no strength, and of ways of living that are unwholesome physically and morally. A rise in the Standard of Life for the whole population will much increase the National Dividend, and the share of it which accrues to each grade and to each trade; and a rise in the Standard of Life for any one trade or grade will raise their efficiency and their own real wages; while it will at the same time enable others to obtain their assistance at a cost somewhat less in proportion to its efficiency, and of course it will increase the National Dividend a little."—Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 738.

be asserted that if the reforms herein advocated became effective to-morrow they would in no way endanger the standard of wages, especially as we are still, unhappily, very far from having attained—in the case of unskilled labour especially—to that minimum standard of life which is essential to efficiency.

It would not, indeed, be difficult to show that the presence in our cities of large numbers of those who have been made “unfit” by habits of vice and intemperance “creates a costly and often unavailing struggle to raise the standard of life and health.” In many branches of unskilled labour moral factors count for very little. In some of them the demand even for physical efficiency is not very great, so that they provide room for men who have impoverished their standard of life by wasteful expenditure and who are content to be employed at low and inadequate wages. It is the competition of these men in many branches of unskilled labour that really endangers the wages of unskilled labour.

In his presidential address to the Royal Statistical Society in 1892, Mr. Charles Booth said:—

“In 1887, when I was considering dock employment as a principal East End industry, I found the position to be very hopeless as well as very unsatisfactory. The employers were content, and the men, though far from content, were entirely unorganized. The dock managers accepted the crowd and the struggle at the dock gates as an inevitable phenomenon which happened to fit in well with the conditions of their trade. They could always be sure of sufficient labour, and though its quality might be bad, its pay was corre-

spondingly low.”¹ It is true that evils such as this are largely remediable by improved organization, and trade unions have done, in this respect, an invaluable service to labour. But it must never be forgotten that to be economically effective trade unions require—and indeed must have—moral efficiency in their members. It is singular how slow we are, in our study of economic facts, to realize the importance of the moral factor, to perceive that it is really the ultimate and most effective instrument of economic reform. Eliminate it, and progress is made impossible. We are left with nothing but a lifeless mechanism of reform—a lever without driving power or fulcrum.

INTEMPERATE CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOL.

There is another aspect of the question still to be considered, and that is the direct and unquestionable loss that results from intemperate drinking. That much of the indulgence in alcoholic drinks is excessive and wasteful is not seriously disputed. Opinions, it is true, differ as to the proportion of the total consumption that may be so regarded, and the amount at the best can only be approximately determined, but even at the lowest computation it certainly forms a not inconsiderable proportion of the whole. Professor Leone Levi, in his evidence before the Lords' Committee in 1877, estimated the amount of intemperate consumption at one-fifth of the total consumption. “Assuming,” he said, “the consumption by the temperate at sixty gallons of beer and two gallons of spirits in England, and three gallons in Scotland and Ireland per annum, I calculate that out of 1,100,000,000

¹ *Statistical Journal*, December, 1892, p. 522.

gallons of beer consumed, about 900,000,000 gallons would be consumed by the temperate, and 200,000,000 gallons, probably, by the intemperate; and that out of the 42,000,000 gallons of spirit consumed, 33,000,000 will be consumed by the temperate, and 9,000,000 probably by the intemperate." And again: "Of this large consumption, a very considerable proportion is used by the temperate in a temperate manner. Only a small proportion—I do not imagine more than 23 per cent. of spirits and 13 per cent. of beer—constitutes the consumption of the intemperate which may be considered as actual waste."¹

Even if we assume the proportion to be as low as is here suggested,² it would follow that upwards of £22,000,000 were spent in 1898 in intemperate and wasteful drinking.

Mr. Dudley Baxter's estimate is very much higher than this. The figures which he gives for 1869, and which are quoted elsewhere,³ show that 38 per cent. of the total consumption of spirits, and 32 per cent. of the total consumption of beer, must in that year have represented *intemperate* consumption. If we make the most liberal allowance for a more general diffusion of wealth and a consequent increase in the amount of *temperate* consumption in the interval, and reduce the

¹ *Evidence of the Lords' Committee on Intemperance*, qq. 9,742 and 9,762.

² It must be borne in mind that expenditure may be intemperate and wasteful far short of actual drunkenness. "Social drinking," for example, on the part of young men and others, may bear no fruits in insobriety, and yet still be wasteful in the sense that it bears no relation to spending capacity.

³ See Appendix, p. 442.

proportions which Mr. Baxter gives to 30 per cent. and 25 per cent. respectively, it would follow that nearly £37,000,000 were spent in 1898 in intemperate and wasteful drinking.

The Committee of the British Association, in their report on the subject in 1882, emphasized the elements of "luxury" and "wastefulness" even more strongly. After discussing the general distribution of the national expenditure under various heads, the Committee proceed:—

"On examination of the component parts of these various items of expenditure it will be found that, whilst the expenditure on articles of food consists mostly of necessities, the expenditure on drink includes a large amount for beer, spirits, and wines, only a small portion of which, probably 20 per cent., can be supposed to be necessary, *the remainder being either pure luxury or sheer waste.*"

The true comment upon these figures is supplied in the closing words of the same report. After pointing out that the subject under consideration (*i.e.* the right appropriation of wages) is "of the highest practical importance," the Committee proceed: "It is erroneous to imagine that it does not matter how money is expended, whether productively or unproductively, provided it gives labour to the people, or provided the money expended remains at home; for while in one case the object produced remains, and, like capital, becomes serviceable for further production, in the other the object produced is either useless or utterly wasted. What is expended productively is never consumed.

It reproduces itself again and again. What is expended unproductively is lost.”¹

This aspect of the question is wisely emphasized. In the discussion of the economic bearings of the Temperance problem by the representatives of the “Trade,” it is too often forgotten that a reduction of expenditure in what is admittedly non-productive consumption would proportionately increase the amount of money available for productive consumption. In this connection it is unnecessary to assume—what is invariably assumed by the apologists of the Trade—the total suppression of the traffic and a consequent wholesale displacement of labour. That is a result which, it is safe to say, is entirely improbable, and, in the present state of public feeling, impracticable. It will be wiser to consider the economic results of a reduction to, say, the limits of the drink consumption of the United States. Such a reduction, as we shall shortly show, would mean the possible transfer from non-productive to productive expenditure of an annual sum amounting to upwards of £57,000,000. That the greater part of this vast sum would, as a matter of fact, be spent productively—*i.e.* in the encouragement of productive industries—cannot be doubted, nor can the economic value of such a transfer easily be exaggerated. But it is not necessary for the purposes of the economic argument to contemplate even so reasonable a reduction as the foregoing. There are other incontestable figures available. No one, for example, will question the economic wastefulness of intemperate drinking, and yet this, to take only

¹ *Report of the British Association*, 1882, p. 304.

a basis of calculation that the "Trade" itself does not contest,¹ must have represented an expenditure in 1898 of upwards of £22,000,000; while if we take as the basis of calculation the opinion of the Committee of experts appointed by the British Association in 1881 and 1882, out of a total expenditure of £154,000,000, in 1898, only £31,000,000 can be regarded as "necessary" expenditure, the remainder (*i.e.* £123,000,000) "being either pure luxury or sheer waste." If these sums, or any considerable proportion of them, had been spent on useful or necessary commodities, the economic gain to the nation would have been enormous. Such considerations are, indeed, so obvious as to need little emphasis, but they cannot be excluded from any serious discussion of the economic results of the traffic. It was a recognition of their importance that led the late Lord Randolph Churchill to make pronounced and public reference to them,² and that caused Richard Cobden to declare that "the Temperance cause lies at the foundation of all social and political reform."

¹ See *The Fallacies of Teetotalers* (Peter Walker & Son, Ltd.).

² "Imagine what a prodigious social reform, what a bound in advance we should have made, if we could curb and control this devilish and destructive liquor traffic; if we could manage to remove from amongst us what I have called on former occasions the fatal facility of recourse to the beer-house, which besets every man and woman, and really one may almost say every child of the working-classes of England; if we could divert from that drink and from that source of expenditure at any rate a considerable portion only of the £100,000,000 or more which this nation thinks it necessary at present every year to spend in drink; if we could direct that expenditure to objects more civilized."—*Speech at Walsall*, July, 1889.

THE LOSS TO THE REVENUE.

But another and more practical objection claims attention. There is a somewhat widespread impression that the efforts of Temperance reformers are "adverse to the interests of the [Imperial] Exchequer, and that were these labours to be crowned with success, the minister who is charged with providing the ways and means of meeting the national expenditure would be puzzled from what source to raise the money which is now so easily procured through the agency of the brewer and distiller." At the present time the taxes imposed upon the traffic yield an annual sum of £36,000,000, and it is urged that if Temperance reformers had their way this £36,000,000 would not be forthcoming, but would have to be raised "by an enormous increase in the Income Tax, or by some other means of taxation." In a general way it might perhaps be sufficient to reply that the objection presupposes the *immediate* and *total* extinction of the traffic. So far from this being possible, it is probable that few Temperance reformers look for a greater *immediate* result than a reduction of the traffic by one-half (*i.e.* to the level of the United States)—a proportion that would reduce the amount of revenue derived from the traffic by £18,000,000. The matter is, however, so intimately bound up with the economics of the Temperance movement that it will be well to give it fuller consideration here. Apart altogether from the strictly moral aspects of the question,¹

¹ Mr. Ruskin has said that "drunkenness is not only the cause of crime, but that it *is* crime; and that if any encourage drunk-

it is important to point out that it is entirely contrary to the truest economic interests of a country to raise revenue in such a way that its material resources are impaired. The objection, to have force, would require to show that the revenue derived from the liquor trade was a *net* gain to the imperial treasury, subject to no deductions or counter-claims in the shape of both direct and indirect losses to the community arising out of the results of the traffic. So far from this being the case, it is matter of common knowledge and concern that very considerable charges, amounting, at the lowest estimate, to many millions sterling,¹ are annually incurred in directly combating the results of the traffic which provides the revenue. To estimate the real effect of an abolition or, what is more practicable, a large reduction of the drink traffic, upon the revenue of the country, it would be necessary to make full allowance for these. In the Appendix to this volume² an attempt has been made to trace the part which intemperance plays in the production of pauperism, insanity, crime, etc. The estimates there given, it is hardly necessary to say, do not claim to be more than approximately correct, but they embody

eness for the sake of the profit derived from the sale of drink, they are guilty of a form of moral assassination as criminal as any that has ever been practised by the bravos of any country or of any age."

¹ "It must be borne in mind that at least one-half of the taxes accruing from drink are expended by the State in preventing, punishing, and repairing evils the result of that drink being consumed." Bourne, "The Taxation of Alcohol."—*Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1882, p. 638.

² See p. 458.

the results of a careful analysis of the most important evidence on the subject. In considering the loss which they represent to the community, it must be remembered that the figures themselves cover but a small part of the actual impoverishment which the community suffers in respect of the evils described. It might be possible, for example, to estimate, at least approximately, the minimum proportion of crime that is due, directly or indirectly, to intemperance in drink, and to charge that proportion against the aggregate cost to the nation of the administration of justice and the maintenance of our prison system. But this is not all. "Each criminal has his one or more victims whose life, health, property, or time he destroys or wastes. No one who has ever attended our criminal courts but must be aware that the expense borne by the State in the apprehension, trial, and punishment of the wrongdoer is but a portion of the cost of his crime."¹ Moreover, there is the further loss to the community through the withdrawal of the criminal from productive labour. "Treating each child as an investment of capital to be applied productively in honest industry," says Sir Edwin Chadwick, "it is a total loss if he fail from moral defaults. If he turn mendicant, pauper, or thief, he will still levy a maintenance on the public; as a thief most wastefully by spoil, as a criminal in prison or in convict establishments, he will be kept unproductively, generally at double the expense of maintaining a pauper. The insurance table would

¹ Bourne, "The National Expenditure upon Alcohol."—*Statistical Journal*, June, 1882.

give him, from the tenth year, the chances of forty years of life and waste, and this waste would be underestimated at the keep of a pauper, or a total loss of £480 on every case of failure.”¹

So too in respect of other results of the drink traffic. It is a sufficiently serious social fact that during the five years 1892-96 the number of deaths in England and Wales directly referred to intemperance was 10,220, or an average of 2,044 per year.² But these figures fail even remotely to suggest the loss which the community suffers from the sickness and disease that result from excessive drinking. The late Sir Andrew Clark, in referring to the matter, said: “I do not desire to make out a strong case; I desire to make out a *true* case. I am speaking solemnly and carefully in the presence of truth, and I tell you I am considerably within the mark when I say to you that going the round of my hospital wards to-day, *seven* out of every *ten* there *owed their ill-health to alcohol*. Now what does that mean? That out of every hundred patients whom I have charge of at the London Hospital,³ 70 per cent. of them directly owe their ill-health to alcohol—to the abuse? I do not say these 70 per cent. were drunkards, but to the excessive use. I do not know that one of them was a drunkard.”⁴ And again: “I am not saying, because I have no means of saying, in human life in society at large, what is the percentage of victims which

¹ *Statistical Journal*, Vol. XXV., p. 519.

² See Appendix, pp. 487-8.

³ Situate in the East End of London, between Whitechapel and Mile End.

⁴ Sir Andrew Clark, *The Action of Alcohol upon Health*, p. 9.

alcohol seizes upon as its rightful prey. I do not know. I have no method of coming accurately to the conclusion, but I know this, that not only do a large percentage of such diseases as I have mentioned, but a great mass—certainly more than three-fourths, of the disorders in what we call ‘fashionable life’—arise from the use of this very drug of which I am now speaking.”¹

What these figures represent in actual monetary loss to the community it is impossible to compute.² This much, however, we do know: that “Public Health is Public Wealth.” Every man, says Sir James Simpson,³ “who is obstructed by sickness from working his work and doing his duty as a citizen, is necessarily a loss to the revenues of the State at large. If we have a community of ten thousand, with one hundred sick, the wealth-producing power of this hundred is not only taken from the public purse, but ten or twenty more additional citizens have to be told off to attend to them in their sickness, and during their term of illness the sustenance of the sick and their attendants is required to be obtained from public or private sources. But, further, if from the severity of the disease, five or ten adults, fathers or mothers, in this

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

² The late Sir Edwin Chadwick, in his Presidential Address to the Economic Section of the British Association in 1862, said: “The actual waste of capital in England and Wales, from the loss of labour, from excessive sickness and premature mortality, I estimate at the very least at between fourteen and fifteen millions per annum.”—*Statistical Journal*, Vol. XXV., p. 507.

³ Address on Public Health.—*Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science* (Belfast), 1867.

hundred die, the consequent loss to the community is difficult to calculate, as their children might require to be sustained, and the status of their families be deteriorated morally and materially. It is impossible, indeed, to estimate in mere yellow gold the value of the life of a father, however humble a mechanic he may be, cut down prematurely by disease and death." It is the consideration of facts such as these that shows how misleading (from the larger view of national well-being) the appeal to the fiscal argument really is. The effective answer to it was given by Sir Robert (then Mr.) Giffen, nearly twenty years ago. Speaking before the Royal Statistical Society of London in 1882, Mr. Giffen said: "If with regard to any article they could say definitely that a certain part of the use of it was absolutely injurious to the people at the time they were consuming it, and that it produced a certain loss of time, and disease and sickness resulted from its use, then there was an economic waste arising from the consumption of alcoholic liquors, which could be spoken of apart from any theories of total abstinence or the reverse, and this waste, which everybody must recognise, whether total abstainers or not, must be very large indeed. Professor Levi had very properly drawn attention to some calculations which might be made upon the statistics of crime and pauperism, in contradiction to estimates which were made by those intimately acquainted with the condition of the people; but looking at the balance of evidence, he (Mr. Giffen) thought the very small percentage which the Professor arrived at was hardly supported, and they could not but come to the conclusion that of the hundred million pounds, which

must be admitted to be spent by the people on alcoholic liquors, a very large part was wasteful expenditure. Even if it were one-fourth only, or twenty-five million pounds, that was an enormous sum, and that was entirely irrespective of the waste to the country from crime and pauperism, which, on Mr. Bourne's figures, would not be less than another twenty-five million pounds. These two sums amounted to fifty million pounds,¹ which was quite large enough to justify, in an economic view, all the complaints about the evils of intemperance, and the opinion that there would be an immense gain to the country if the evil could be removed."²

The view thus expressed by Sir Robert Giffen has been shared, for more than a century, by many of the ablest financiers and social students that the country has known.³ Sir Frederic Eden, in re-

¹ It is interesting to note in this connection that the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed in 1834 to inquire "into the extent, causes, and consequences of the prevailing vice of intoxication among the labouring classes of the United Kingdom" estimated "the mere pecuniary loss to the nation" from the evils of the drink traffic at a similar amount (*i.e.*, "little short of fifty millions sterling per annum").

² *Statistical Journal*, June, 1882.

³ So far back as 1729 we find John Disney, magistrate and divine, in his *View of Ancient Laws against Immorality and Profaneness*, putting forward similar views. "I deny," he says, 'the assertion that the revenue of y^e crown will really be impaired by prohibiting tipling and drunk^{ss} . . . 3 parts in 4 of the pore families in this kingdom have been reduced to want chiefly by haunting Taverns or Ale-houses. Espec^y labouring men, who very often consume there on the Lord's day what they have gotten all the week before, & let their families beg or steal for a subsistence the week foll^g. . . . Now I suppose

ferring to the matter in his great work on *The State of the Poor* (published in 1797), says: "For Government to offer encouragement to ale-houses is to act the part of a *felo de se*. Nor ought the public ever to be lulled into an acquiescence by the flattering bait of immediate gain, which ere long they would be obliged to *pay back to paupers, in relief, with a heavy interest.*" Thirty years later (in 1830) we find a Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goulburn) declaring in the House of Commons that, "so far from the Government desiring to promote the consumption of spirits, they would rather see the people refrain from them altogether."¹ Forty years later, Mr. Dudley Baxter, whose right to be heard on all matters of imperial finance no one will question, wrote: "Take away excessive temptation, and you will greatly reduce excessive drinking. No one could lament a deficit in the Taxes on Alcohol caused by such a measure. On the contrary, it would be most desirable in the true interests of the nation."² The declaration of Mr. Gladstone was even more pronounced. Replying to a deputation of brewers who had intimated that his proposed course of action in regard to the malt tax duties would greatly affect the imperial revenue, he said: "Gentlemen, you need not give

you will grant me that as the No. of poor & ruined families encreases in a nation, the Prince that governs must find a proportionable decay in his Revenue. On the other side, all such laws duly executed as keep men by sobriety temp^{er} & frugality in a thriving condition, do most effectually provide for the happiness of the people & for the riches of the Prince."

¹ Speech in the House of Commons, June 4th, 1830.

² *The Taxation of the United Kingdom*, p. 149.

yourselves any trouble about the revenue. The question of revenue must never stand in the way of needed reforms. Besides, with a sober population, not wasting their earnings, I shall know where to obtain the revenue." Finally, the testimony of a distinguished political opponent of Mr. Gladstone may be quoted as completing the chain of argument. In the course of his budget speech in the House of Commons on April 16th, 1874, the late Lord Iddesleigh (then Sir Stafford Northcote) said: "The main feature of the year was the great increase on Customs and Excise; and, as the House will probably be prepared to hear, far too large a proportion of the increase from both these sources of Revenue was due to the consumption of spirits. That is a matter which, if it be in some sense one of financial congratulation, is a much greater and higher matter of regret." And again: "I refer, as one main source of possible addition to the Revenue, to the vast increase in the consumption of spirits. You may say that it is a very dangerous thing to rely upon. It is dangerous and not very pleasant, I admit, to rely upon the increase in the consumption of spirits as a source of future Revenue. It may also be said that the time may come when a check will come, and that source of Revenue may fail you. I have asked myself how is it that you expect this source of Revenue will fail? . . . It must be from one of two causes—either from some general failure of the consuming power of the people—from some failure in their ability to purchase spirits, the will remaining as it was—or from some great change in the habits of the people inducing them to abandon the use of such

enormous quantities of ardent spirits. If it were the former, it would tell upon all the sources of Revenue just as well as upon that derived from spirits. . . . But if the reduction of the Revenue derived from spirits be due to the other cause—if it should be due to a material and considerable change in the habits of the people and to increasing habits of temperance and abstinence from the use of ardent spirits—I venture to say that the amount of wealth such a change would bring to the nation would utterly throw into the shade the amount of Revenue that is now derived from the spirit duty, and we should not only see with satisfaction a diminution of the Revenue from such a cause, but we should find in various ways that the Exchequer would not suffer from the losses which it might sustain in that direction.”¹

The fundamental defect in the fiscal argument—as all these extracts show—is that it tacitly assumes that money that is spent on alcoholic liquors only comes into existence when the liquors are bought; or that if not spent on alcohol it must “take some impalpable, untaxable form and diffuse itself in expenditures from which no Chancellor of the Exchequer could draw any profit.” It forgets that all expenditures are not equally productive, and that non-productive expenditures, from the view of highest national progress, are essentially wasteful. It is well to tax such expenditures, but “it is puerile to be glad that there should be a great deal of such expenditure to be taxed, as if a source of revenue were created by its own wasteful use, or as if it would run dry if it were used not

¹ *Hansard's Debates.*

wastefully but frugally and reproductively. England can drink much beer because she is rich; she is not rich because she drinks much beer.”¹

COMPARISON WITH THE UNITED STATES.

But apart from any question of the absolute economic importance of the figures of drink expenditure in this country, they have a comparative significance which it may be well at this point to consider. If, for example, we take the corresponding figures for the United States—a country whose racial traditions are sufficiently akin to our own to make the comparison a fair one—and compare them with our own, the result is both interesting and suggestive.

The following tables give the average *per capita* consumption of spirits, wine, and beer, together with the *per capita* consumption of absolute alcohol, in both countries for the five years 1893–1897:—

	United Kingdom. <i>English Gallons.</i>	United States. <i>English Gallons.</i>
Spirits	1·00	·99
Wine	·38	·32
Beer	30·20	12·70
Absolute Alcohol	2·05	1·16

That is to say, the *per capita* consumption of absolute alcohol in the United States is not much more than one-half (57 per cent.) of the *per capita* consumption in the United Kingdom.

If, therefore, we could reduce our national consumption of alcoholic liquors to even the measure of the American consumption—a by no means extreme

¹ *Manchester Guardian*, November 4th, 1898.

suggestion—our national drink bill would at once be reduced by more than £57,000,000¹—a sum that is equal to (a) more than one-half of the national revenue, or (b) more than three times the amount of the Share Capital of all the Industrial and Provident (Co-operative) Societies registered under the Industrial and Provident Acts in the United Kingdom.

Or, to put it in another way, the amount saved by this moderate reduction in the consumption of alcoholic liquors in the United Kingdom would be sufficient not only to provide all the funds needed for a national scheme of Old Age Pensions (*i.e.*, £26,000,000), but also to secure the entire extinction of the National Debt in less than twenty-two years. In view, therefore, of the magnitude of these figures, which, it is important to repeat, are based upon an estimated reduction in consumption that is neither utopian nor unreasonable, but well within the reach of wise social and legislative arrangements, it is extraordinary that the subject has not received more definite and sustained consideration from political thinkers and statesmen.

¹ The actual figures would be as under:—

	Present Expenditure (<i>i.e.</i> , in 1897).	Expenditure on basis of American Consumption.
Spirits . . .	£42,673,015 . . .	£42,246,285
Wine . . .	14,267,764 . . .	11,264,024
Beer . . .	93,840,944 . . .	39,594,019
	<hr/> £150,781,723	<hr/> £93,104,328
Total amount of reduction, £57,677,395.		

The reduction in expenditure on wine and spirits, it will be noticed, would be very slight, nearly the whole of the reduction occurring in the expenditure on beer.

INFLUENCE OF CLIMATE ON CONSUMPTION.

But it may be said that the *per capita* consumption in this country cannot be brought down to that of the United States on account of the character of the English climate. A people living under the clearer skies, and in the more exhilarating air of America, will not have the same craving for alcohol—so it may be urged—that is found in this country. The thought still lingers that the influence of climate is of so dominating a character that it will be the main factor in determining the consumption in any country, and that no Temperance propaganda or change in law can greatly affect it. That climate *has* an influence upon both the kind and volume of drink consumed is obvious, but the evidence certainly does not suggest that this influence is so arbitrary and powerful as many modern writers—following Montesquieu—appear to assume. It is probable that the influence of climate and of external conditions is far greater in the early than in the later stages of civilization. But whether this be so or not, there is abundant evidence to show that among modern nations the influence of climate upon drink consumption is relatively small. Let us take as an illustration three of the northern nations of Europe belonging to the same race, and speaking almost the same language, namely, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. Now, if climate determined consumption, we might expect to find the amount of liquor consumed practically the same in each of these three countries. But what are the facts? The consumption of spirits and beer in Sweden is double that of Norway, and the consumption of the same liquors

in Denmark is again double that of Sweden. The following figures give the average *per capita* consumption of spirits and beer¹ in each of these countries for the five most recent years (*i.e.*, 1893-97) for which official statistics are available:—

	Spirits.		Beer.	
	<i>English Gallons.</i>		<i>English Gallons.</i>	
Denmark	3.50		19.20	
Sweden	1.54		7.60	
Norway . . . . .	.67		4.10	

But the evidence does not end here. At the beginning of the present century Norway was one of the most drunken countries in Europe. At the present time it is the most sober country in Europe. In Sweden, again, the consumption of proof spirits in 1829-30 was about 10 gallons, and in 1855 between 5 and 6 gallons per head of the population. At the present time it is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ gallons. The reduction in each case has been brought about, not by any change of climate, but by wise legislation inspired and sustained by Temperance sentiment.

As a matter of fact, when we inquire in what European country the *per capita* consumption of alcohol is greatest, we find that the highest figures are reached, not in any fog-bound northern nation, but in "Sunny France."²

¹ The consumption of wine in these countries is so slight as not to affect the comparison.

² With regard to the great increase in late years of the consumption of alcohol in France see (Appendix, p. 444) the remarks made by the Commission appointed by the French Chamber in 1897 to inquire into the question and report thereon. In the departments of the north-west it is stated "that the daily consumption of alcohol absorbs half the average salary of the working population."

The following table—which is based upon the latest official figures¹—gives particulars of the *per capita* consumption of *absolute alcohol* in the principal countries in Europe. In order to eliminate, as far as possible, merely accidental variations, such as sometimes affect the statistics of a single year, an average for five years has, wherever possible, been adopted:²—

CONSUMPTION OF ABSOLUTE ALCOHOL.³

	Per Head of the Population. <i>English Gallons.</i>
France	3·72
Belgium	2·81
Switzerland	2·64
Denmark	2·51
Spain	2·42
Italy	2·40
Germany	2·09
United Kingdom	2·05
Hungary	1·50
United States	1·16
Sweden	1·08
Russia	·60
Norway	·54

¹ *Board of Trade Return*, No. 408 (1897): supplemented by (a) later figures supplied to the present writers by the Board of Trade, and (b) information derived from official sources in other countries. The writers are especially indebted to A. E. Bateman, Esq., Commercial Department, Board of Trade, for access to the latest official statistics.

² The full details of the table are given in the Appendix. See p. 435.

³ In the compilation of the above table, the alcoholic strength of beer has been taken at 5 per cent. for the United Kingdom and the United States, and 4 per cent. elsewhere. *Wine* has been taken at 15 per cent. for the United Kingdom and the

No estimate can be given for either Austria, Holland,¹ or Portugal, the statistics in each case being incomplete. The figures, however, as they stand seem to show conclusively that the influence of climate is far less powerful in determining the consumption of alcohol than is often supposed.²

COMPARISON WITH THE BRITISH COLONIES.

It will be interesting in this connection if we further compare the statistics of consumption in the United Kingdom with those for the British Colonies. The figures—which are based upon the average consumption for the five years 1893-7—are as follow :³—

United States; 12 per cent. in Italy, and 10 per cent. elsewhere, except that in Norway it is taken at 10 per cent. up to 1896, and 15 per cent. since.

¹ The average *per capita* consumption of proof spirits in Holland for the five years 1892-96 was nearly 2 gallons (1.94), or nearly twice the consumption of *spirits* in the United Kingdom. The *per capita* consumption of wine in the same period was 0.43 of an English gallon. There are no statistics for beer.

² *The Bulletin Russe de Statistique Financière et de Législation* of January, 1899, after an examination of the facts relative to the effects of climate upon the consumption of alcohol, adds:—

“En présence de ces chiffres, on se demandera sans doute comment a pu se perpétuer la légende de l'influence du climat sur la consommation. Nous ne pouvons fournir à cet égard que deux hypothèses:

“1. En matière de statistique, une opinion a d'autant plus de chances de s'accréditer qu'elle est en contradiction plus évidente avec les faits et la raison.”

The second hypothesis was that the true figures of consumption had not until recently been ascertained.

³ For full particulars of the comparison see Appendix, p. 436.

CONSUMPTION OF ABSOLUTE ALCOHOL.¹

	Per Head of the Population. <i>English Gallons.</i>
United Kingdom	2'05
Western Australia	2'27
South Australia—Northern Territory .	1'37
Victoria	1'16
Queensland	1'04
Cape of Good Hope	'95
New South Wales	'90
New Zealand	'73
South Australia (except Northern Terri- tory)	'62
Tasmania	'55
Canada	'54

The figures are interesting and might well claim fuller discussion than is possible here, but it must suffice to point out that they are hardly explained by considerations of climate alone.

NUMBER OF LICENSED PREMISES.

The facts that we have so far examined become more intelligible when we consider how widespread are the facilities for obtaining alcoholic liquors in the United Kingdom, and how enormous is the temptation that is thus presented. In the Appendix to the present volume,² particulars are given of the number of premises licensed to sell intoxicants in the three divisions of the United Kingdom. The mode in

¹ The alcoholic strength of *Beer* has been taken at 5 per cent. for both the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and that of *Wine* at 15 per cent. for the United Kingdom and 12 per cent. for the Colonies.

² See p. 489.

which the traffic is conducted differs slightly in each division; in Scotland, for example, the proportion of "off" licences to "on" licences is much greater than in the other divisions of the kingdom; but the excess of facility is common to all.

(a) *England and Wales.*

Speaking broadly, the number of places licensed by justices for the retail sale of liquor in England and Wales is 125,000,¹ of which about 67,000 are fully licensed houses, and about 30,000 are beer-houses. The proportion of "on" licences to "off" licences is about 5 to 1. The proportion would be much greater but for the number of "off" licences in the boroughs. In the country districts the number of "off" licences is comparatively small. Indeed, in 72 country districts there are no "off" licences.

The excess in the existing number of licences is especially apparent in the towns. In London (Metropolitan Police Area²) the total number of licensed premises in 1896 was 14,039, or one to every 446 inhabitants. In the smaller area represented by the Administrative County of London,³ the total number of licences issued in the same year was 11,811,⁴ or one to every 50 inhabited houses. The total rateable

¹ For the actual figures see Appendix, p. 489.

² Population (1896) 6,259,966.

³ Population (1896) 4,433,018.

⁴ Licences issued to Victuallers 8,826

To sell beer to be drunk on the premises . 2,338

To sell beer to be drunk off the premises . 647

11,811

(*Statistical Abstract for London*, 1897, p. 57.)

value of the licensed premises in London (Administrative County) is £1,754,335—a sum that is equal to (a) nearly six times the total rateable value of all the Board Schools and Voluntary Schools in the metropolis, or (b) *one-twentieth part of the total valuation of London*. But these figures, covering as they do a wide area, give a very inadequate idea of the real situation. To understand how excessive the number of public-houses really is, it is necessary to examine the districts in Central and East London. One such district is shown in the annexed map.¹ It covers, it will be seen, an area of about nine-sixteenths of a square mile, and includes the districts of Soho, St. Giles-in-the-Fields, etc. In this area there are no less than 259 public-houses, or an average of one to every 193 persons of the population.² But London is not exceptional in this respect. Much the same condition of things exists in all our large towns.³ Manchester, for example, has nearly 3,000 licensed premises, or one to every 180 inhabitants. Liverpool has 2,310, or one to every 279 inhabitants; Birmingham 2,300, or one to every 215 inhabitants; Sheffield has 1,841, or one to every 176 inhabitants; while Bristol has 1,173, or one to every 195 inhabitants.

(b) *Scotland.*

If we turn to Scotland, the figures, although much

¹ Reproduced by permission from one of a series of maps presented to the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws by Lady Henry Somerset in the course of her evidence on May 25th, 1897.

² For further particulars of London, see Appendix, pp. 492-3.

³ See Appendix, p. 491.

smaller, are still excessive. The number of "on" licensed premises in Scotland is, in round numbers, 7,500. Of these all but 220 sell spirits. The "off" licences number 4,200. Of these, again, all but about 340 sell spirits. Edinburgh has one licensed house to every 378 inhabitants; Glasgow, one to every 401; Paisley, one to every 392; Dundee, one to every 369; Aberdeen, one to every 367; Leith, one to every 274; and Greenock, one to every 358 inhabitants.

(c) *Ireland.*

The great feature of the licensing system in Ireland is the overwhelming preponderance of public-houses. Out of a total of 18,532 retail licences, no fewer than 16,826 are "on" licences. In the towns the figures are almost incredibly high. In Clonmel, for example, *one out of every 11 houses is a licensed house*; in Waterford, one out of every 15; in Limerick, Queens-town and Kilkenny, one out of every 17; in Cork, one out of every 19; in Dublin and Belfast, one out of every 33. The ratio of licensed premises to population in these towns is given in the Appendix.¹ It will be seen that it ranges from one licensed house to every 78 persons in Clonmel, to one to every 275 persons in Dublin.

Happily, in many parts of the kingdom (in England and Wales especially), the number of licensed houses is either stationary or tends slowly to decline. Comparing the returns for 1896 with those for 1886, we find that 56 boroughs and 82 Petty Sessional Divisions show a decrease in the

¹ See p. 492.

number of "on" licences during the ten years. This is satisfactory so far as it goes, but the reduction has been so slight, and the numbers remaining are so enormous, that its effect is hardly appreciable. One of the most noteworthy reductions has taken place in London, where (taking the whole of the licensing divisions) 613 "on" licences disappeared between 1886 and 1896. But while this is matter for congratulation, its comparative insignificance is realized when it is noticed that even if the same rate of reduction were to continue, it would take *nearly two centuries* to extinguish the present number of "on" licences in London, while it would take nearly seventy years to bring them down to the limit proposed in Mr. Bruce's Bill.

INCREASED SIZE OF PUBLIC-HOUSES.

But a more serious fact remains, and that is, that the small reduction in the number of public-houses and beer-shops has been more than out-balanced by the reconstruction and enlargement of those that remain. While Temperance workers have been steadily endeavouring to reduce the *number* of public-houses, the publicans and brewers have been busily intent upon increasing their *size*. The reduction in numbers has affected, for the most part, the smaller and least profitable houses only, but these have been largely replaced by huge "gin palaces," capable both by attractiveness and accommodation of much more extended mischief.¹ Of 250 public-houses

¹ The change was noted by the Lords' Committee on Intemperance in 1879. In discussing it in their Report, the

in Central London, which were examined in 1897, 61 had three entrances; ¹ 65, four; 18, five; 4, six; 3, seven; and 2 eight entrances. The average for the whole of the 250 was three entrances per house. Of 37 public-houses examined in another district in the North-west of London—a district comprising less than a quarter of a square mile—15 had three entrances; 5, four; 2, five; 1, six; and 1 eight: the average being three entrances per house. Of 76 public-houses in a closely adjacent district (covering about a quarter of a square mile), 17 had three entrances; 18, four; 13, five; 2, six; and 2 eight. The average in this case was $3\frac{1}{2}$ entrances per house.

The situation is further aggravated by the number of separate *compartments*. Thus, of the 76 public-houses just mentioned, 23 had four separate compartments; 17, five; 9, six; 1, seven; 3, eight; while 3 others had nine, thirteen, and fifteen respectively. The average for the 76 houses was nearly five ($4\frac{2}{3}$) separate compartments per house. These figures, although high, are hardly to be considered excep-

Committee say: "It is to be remarked that in large towns, while the public-houses have decreased in number, they have increased in size, and in the amount of accommodation which they afford. The evidence from Liverpool is conclusive on this point. It appears, moreover, that a great number of public-houses have been converted into 'vaults' or 'gin palaces,' which are mostly spirit-drinking places, where people stand to drink, the drink being served over the counter. These vaults are a modern creation, and their mischievous character is recognised by all the witnesses from the large towns where they exist in the greatest number."

¹ By entrance is here meant a separate lobby or doorway opening directly upon the street.

tional in the central districts of London. Of the 250 public-houses previously referred to, 96 had four separate compartments; 51, five; 31, six; and 12 seven; the average for the whole number being $4\frac{1}{2}$ per house.

In the face of these figures it is easy to realize the force of Lord Randolph Churchill's statement that "the system of reckless profusion in the sale of alcoholic liquor, and the fatal facility of recourse to the public-houses, makes it extremely difficult for multitudes of persons, in view of the hardships of their lives, to avoid or resist intemperance."¹

PREVALENCE OF DRUNKENNESS.

It remains briefly to consider the extent to which drunkenness now prevails as compared with former years.

The statistics of prosecutions upon which such comparisons are usually based are far from being completely satisfactory; but, inasmuch as they constitute the only possible data for such comparisons, we are compelled to accept them. The following table, which has been compiled from the most recent official figures,² gives the average number of persons proceeded against for drunkenness in England and Wales for each quinquennial period since 1857—the first year of the Judicial Statistics:—

¹ Speech in the House of Commons, April 29th, 1890.

² *Judicial Statistics (England and Wales)*, 1896. *Part I.: Criminal Statistics.*

Quinquennial Period.	Average No. of Persons proceeded against for Drunkenness per 1,000 of population.
1857-61	4.28
1862-66	4.78
1867-71	5.47
1872-76	7.83
1877-81	7.25
1882-86	6.90
1887-91	6.19
1892-96	5.84
1896	6.09

The figures, it will be seen, show a considerable and steady decline since 1872-76 (when the consumption of alcohol was quite abnormal), but it is nevertheless disquieting to discover that the average number of prosecutions for drunkenness in the five years 1892-6 (the latest years for which statistics are published) was 36 per cent. higher than the average for 1857-61, and 22 per cent. higher than the average for 1862-6. That the increase is partly due to more efficient police administration in recent years is probable, but that this is not a complete explanation of the figures is made evident by an analysis of the general statistics of crime during the same period. The figures are given in detail elsewhere,¹ and a reference to them will show that while crime generally has *decreased* 24 per cent. in England and Wales since 1857-61, drunkenness has *increased* 36 per cent. If we limit the comparison to a period of thirty years, and compare the five years 1862-66 with the five years 1892-96, the result is still discouraging. The

¹ See Appendix, p. 498.

figures show a *decrease* in crime of 30 per cent., and an *increase* in drunkenness of 22 per cent.¹

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF DRUNKENNESS.

The accompanying map² shows the geographical distribution of offences of drunkenness in England and Wales in the five years 1889-93. Speaking generally, it may be said that drunkenness is chiefly prevalent in the seaport and mining districts. If a line be drawn from the mouth of the Severn to the Wash, it will be found that the "black" counties without exception lie to the north-west of this line. The worst counties in England and Wales in the matter of drunkenness are Northumberland, Durham, Lancashire and Glamorganshire, while Pembrokeshire and Shropshire follow close behind. The most sober counties, on the other hand, are Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Huntingdonshire, Oxfordshire, and Wiltshire.

Averages based upon the returns of entire counties do not, however, afford a complete guide to the distribution of drunkenness, inasmuch as offences are not equally distributed over the whole area of a county. A heavy ratio of drunkenness in a small district may often give a county an unfavourable position in the general averages, notwithstanding favourable conditions in the rest of its area. A much better classification is that adopted by the compiler

¹ See also the recent increase of drunkenness in London (Appendix, p. 499).

² Reproduced by permission from the *Judicial (Criminal) Statistics* for 1893.

of the Judicial (Criminal) Statistics for 1894, and which is represented in the following table :¹—

	Drunkenness (No. of offences in 1894) per 1,000 Population.
Seaports	12·60
Mining Counties	11·36
Metropolis	6·37
Manufacturing Towns.	4·70
Pleasure Towns	2·89
Agriculture Counties:—	
Home Counties	2·45
South-western Counties	2·09
Eastern Counties	1·09
England and Wales	6·16

¹ The areas are as follow :—

Seaports.—Birkenhead, Cardiff, Hull, Liverpool, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Newport (Mon.), Southampton, South Shields, Swansea, Tynemouth.

Mining Counties.—Derbyshire (excluding Derby Borough), Durham (excluding Hartlepool, South Shields, and Sunderland), Glamorgan (excluding Cardiff and Swansea), Monmouth (excluding Newport), Northumberland (excluding Newcastle and Tynemouth).

Metropolis.—Metropolitan Police District and City of London.

Manufacturing Towns.—Birmingham, Blackburn, Bradford, Derby, Halifax, Hanley, Huddersfield, Leeds, Leicester, Nottingham, Oldham, Preston, Sheffield, Wolverhampton.

Pleasure Towns.—Bath, Brighton, Eastbourne, Folkestone, Hastings, Leamington, Margate, Ramsgate, Scarborough, Tunbridge Wells.

Agricultural Counties.—(County police districts only.)

Home Counties.—(County police districts only.) Essex, Kent, Surrey, Herts, Bucks, Berks.

South-western Counties.—Dorset, Hants, Somerset, Wilts.

Eastern Counties.—Norfolk, Suffolk, Hunts, Cambridge.

INTEMPERANCE AMONG WOMEN.

Further analysis of the statistics of drunkenness shows that from 28 to 30 per cent. of the total number of offences are committed by women. In the larger towns the proportion, as a rule, is higher. In London, 38 per cent. of the drunkenness is attributable to women; in Manchester, 36 per cent.; in Belfast and Glasgow, 32 per cent. In Liverpool, on the other hand, the proportion is only 24 per cent.

The much controverted question as to whether intemperance is increasing among women can hardly, however, be decided by an appeal to the criminal statistics. So far as these statistics throw any light at all upon the question, they suggest important local differences. The figures given elsewhere¹ show that in both London and Liverpool there has been a noticeable decline in the proportion of offences of drunkenness recorded against women in the last twenty years. In 1875, 47 per cent. of the total number of persons arrested for drunkenness in London were women. In 1895 the proportion had fallen to 41 per cent., and in 1897 (when the number of arrests per 1,000 of the population was almost identical with that of 1875) to 39 per cent. In Liverpool the decline has been less marked, the proportion falling from 26 per cent. in 1876-80 to 24 per cent. in 1891-95. Manchester and Glasgow, on the other hand, show a not less marked *increase*.

A further and perhaps more direct clue is afforded by the Registrar-General's annual return of deaths

¹ See Appendix, pp. 499-501.

directly attributed to intemperance. The figures are given below. In order to eliminate accidental variations, the comparison is based upon the average mortality during four consecutive quinquennial periods:—

Quinquennial Period.	Average No. of Deaths from Intemperance (England and Wales).		Males. Per cent.	Females. Per cent.
1877-81	1071		69	31
1882-86	1320		66	34
1887-91	1710		64	36
1892-96	2044		61	39

The figures are certainly striking. They show, it will be noticed, that out of every 100 deaths from alcoholic excess in England and Wales at the present time, women contribute *eight more* than they did twenty years ago.

If, instead of taking the total number of deaths, we take the ratio per million persons living, the increase is seen even more clearly:—

	Males.		Females.	
	Ratio per million living.		Ratio per million living.	
1877-81	60		25	
1882-86	67		32	
1887-91	79		42	
1892-96	86		51	

It thus appears that while the ratio of mortality from alcoholic excess has increased 43 per cent. among *males* during the last twenty years, among *females* it has increased by no less than 104 per cent.

CHAPTER II

The Social and Political Menace

AMONG the obstacles that stand in the way of any comprehensive measure of Temperance reform, the most serious is to be found in the magnitude of the vested interests, and in the number of persons interested in the maintenance of the traffic. Now what is the extent of these vested interests?

The *Brewers' Almanack* for 1898 gives a list of 119 Brewery and Distillery Companies in the United Kingdom which are quoted on the London Stock Exchange, and which have a Share and Debenture Capital of £70,319,188. Sixty-seven of these do not show any "Ordinary Shares." This is due to the Ordinary Shares being in private hands, and consequently having no Stock Exchange quotations. The seventy millions therefore by no means represent the total capital of these companies. Probably in a good many cases Preference Shares are also in private hands.

To the above list must be added the Companies not quoted on the London Stock Exchange, and the large

number of private concerns.¹ The total sum invested in the trade is stated by the *Brewers' Almanack*² to be as follows :—

¹ The 40th Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, p. 16, gives the following table of the number of brewers in the United Kingdom for the year ending 30th September, 1896 :—

Number of Brewers as represented by the No. of Licences issued.	Number of Barrels of Beer brewed of Specific Gravity of 1,055°.	
	BARRELS.	BARRELS.
6,985	Under	1,000
1,139	1,000 and under	10,000
286	10,000 " "	20,000
132	20,000 " "	30,000
117	30,000 " "	50,000
82	50,000 " "	100,000
20	100,000 " "	150,000
10	150,000 " "	200,000
4	200,000 " "	250,000
—	250,000 " "	300,000
2	300,000 " "	350,000
5	350,000 " "	400,000
6	400,000 " "	450,000
3	450,000 " "	500,000
1	500,000 " "	550,000
1	550,000 " "	600,000
4	600,000 " "	1,000,000
6	1,000,000 and over	
8,803*		

* The actual number of brewers to whom licences were issued was 8,686. A brewer may hold more than one licence.

The number of distillers in the United Kingdom for the year ending September, 1896, was 173.

² *Brewers' Almanack*, 1898, p. 333.

Capital value of Breweries and Distilleries and their licensed property in the United Kingdom	£ 200,000,000
Capital value of all Licensed Houses not included in the above, say	20,000,000
Capital value of the Wine and Spirit Trades, and all other trades in connection with alcoholic liquors, say .	10,000,000
	<hr/> £230,000,000

The estimate of Temperance writers is even higher. Mr. JAMES WHYTE, the Secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance, says: "Capital amounting to from £250,000,000 to £300,000,000 sterling is invested in the liquor trade of this country."¹

Under the wide extension of the Limited Company System these millions are distributed among a large body of shareholders. An examination of the share lists of five large Brewery Companies, made up to August, 1897, gives the following results:—

	Number of Shareholders.			
	Ordinary	Preference	Total.	
Arthur Guinness, Son & Co., Ltd.	5,450	3,768	9,218	The holders of Debenture Capital are not in any case included.
Bass, Ratcliff & Gretton, Ltd.	17	1,368	1,385	
Threlfall's Ltd.	577	872	1,449	
Combe & Co., Ltd.	10	1,040	1,050	
Samuel Allsopp & Co., Ltd. .	1,313	2,189	3,502	
	7,367	9,237	16,604	

¹ *Alliance Budget*, 1898. The following statement is also of interest in this connection: "The trade in alcohol, in the several forms of beer, wine, and spirits, is one of the very largest in the world. The capital embarked in it in Europe alone defies all

It thus appears that the ordinary and preference shareholders alone in five large Brewery Companies number 16,604. If the debenture capital be as widely distributed, the number of share and debenture holders will, together, be 27,052.¹ Still more significant, as bearing upon the effect which the holding of these shares must have upon public opinion, is the social position of many of the shareholders. In the two first-named Companies, especially in Guinness & Co., peers and titled persons and doctors are, after women, the most numerous class. In the same Company are 178 persons bearing the title of "Rev.," including bishops, deans, archdeacons, and canons. In the other four Companies there are 133 persons designated as "Rev."² It is to be remembered that every new shareholder in a brewery adds to the number of those who have a direct interest in resisting any interference that will cripple its opportunity of earning dividends. This

calculation, but is certainly far more than a thousand millions sterling." A. J. MOTT, F.G.S. *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. Conference on Temperance Legislation*, 1886, p. 13.

¹ The capital of these five Companies is £15,820,000; viz., Ordinary and Preference Share Capital £9,710,000, and Debenture Capital £6,110,000. If the whole of the 119 Brewery and Distillery Companies quoted on the Stock Exchange have the same proportion of share and debenture holders in relation to their capital, the number will amount to 120,245. From this number some deduction must, however, be made to meet the case of duplicate holders.

² In the course of recent investigations, the present writers were informed by the deputy-chief of the police in Stockholm that, in Sweden, it is an offence against the law for governors, clergy, doctors in the public service, schoolmasters, judges, police officials, and burgomasters to hold shares in distilleries.

transference of direct pecuniary interest from a limited number of individuals, or firms, to an almost unlimited number of the general public cannot fail to have a large influence in hindering a reform of the licensing laws.¹

We have seen that in 1896 there were in the United Kingdom 8,686 brewers and 173 distillers²—a body whose influence will be persistently and resolutely exercised against any legislation calculated to restrict sales. As the *Times* said in a leading article on September 12th, 1891: "The natural tendency of a brewer is simply to push the sale of his beer. Provided no forfeiture of the licence be incurred, the especial manner in which the business is conducted does not matter much to him. *His main desire is that the neighbourhood shall drink as much as possible.*"

The manner in which the influence of the Trade is exercised is apparent from its official statements. Thus the Executive of the National Trade Defence Fund, established in 1888, set forth that "Its objects are to watch at all times the general interests of the whole Trade in and out of Parliament; to secure by all legal

¹ This is well understood by the Trade. The *Licensed Victuallers' Official Annual* for 1896 (p. 205), describing the steps taken by the Trade to influence the General Election of 1892, says: "A stirring manifesto was sent from the Central Offices to every Licensed Victualler in the Metropolitan constituencies. Test questions were laid before the whole of the candidates for Parliament. Their replies were duly considered, and directions given as to how the Trade votes should go in each case. On the completion of the list of candidates, it was sent with a covering circular to all members of the Trade in London, *as well as to thousands of shareholders in breweries and distilleries.*"

² 40th Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, p. 24.

means, regardless of party politics, the return to the House of Commons, and other elected bodies, of candidates favourable to Trade interests; to federate existing Societies; to decide upon the general policy of defence; and generally to do all things that the Committee shall deem to be for the interests of the Trade.”¹

The Licensed Victuallers' Central Protection Society of London thus defines its objects:—

“To watch all proceedings in Parliament with a view to taking such steps as may be deemed necessary to promote or defeat measures introduced therein; to represent the views of the London Trade upon all questions touching its interests; to aid in securing to the Trade such Parliamentary, Municipal and Parochial representation as is necessary for the protection of its interests; and the federation with all local Metropolitan Societies, so as to form a central Society to adequately represent the Trade.”

And the Beer and Wine Trade National Defence League names as its object: “To promote, support, or oppose Bills in Parliament, and to assist in the return to Parliament of candidates favourable to the interests of the Trade.”

The ominous note in these declarations of policy is the avowed determination of the associations to act upon the principle of “Our trade our politics.”² In

¹ See pp. 97-8.

² Mr. CHARLES WALKER, Chairman of the Licensed Victuallers' Central Protection Society, writing in the *Fortnightly Review* for May, 1893, says: “Attacked on all sides by proposals and threats which struck at their existence, they adopted the motto, ‘Our Trade our Politics,’ and loyally carried out the policy which that motto covered.”

place of that conception of citizenship which would seek the highest good of the nation or of the municipality, Parliamentary and Local candidates are to be supported or opposed with primary reference to their attitude towards the Trade.

The degradation of public life which must follow the adoption of such a policy has been forcibly insisted upon by the Right Hon. H. H. ASQUITH. Speaking in 1895, he said: "I do not hesitate to say that if politics are to become the battle-field of organized and privileged interests, and if the electors are to be invited to subordinate their views upon all the larger questions of public policy to bring them into harmony with the requirements of a particular trade, we are entering upon an era of demoralization in British politics."

This "subordination of the larger questions of public policy" to the interests of the Trade cannot be looked upon as any passing phase. As the struggle between the forces of Temperance and of the Trade becomes more acute, the traffic will seek to protect itself by controlling Municipal and State legislation. No secrecy is maintained as to either its aims or methods, as will be seen by the following extracts from an article on "Trade Electoral Organization," which appears in the *Brewers' Almanack* for 1894, signed by the Manager of the National Trade Defence Fund (pp. 161-65): "After a period of lamentable inactivity, the Trade realized the necessity of self-organization for electoral purposes, and for the past few years has been actively engaged in forming itself into a strong and compact non-political body for the most practical of all objects—self-defence."

Then, referring to the introduction of the Liquor Traffic (Local Control) Bill in March, 1893, the writer proceeds: "Fortunately for the Trade, this declaration of war did not find them unprepared. Their leaders had seen the necessity for organization for electoral purposes as distinct from former antiquated combinations for social intercourse and protection as Traders. Meetings had been held, funds had been collected, officers had been elected, and a policy framed—nothing was wanted to unite the Trade but an outward and visible foe, who made his appearance in the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"The Direct Veto was met by the only answer the Trade could give, a direct no; and the opportunity arrived of putting to practical test the value of our improved organization, of which we had had a satisfactory trial at the General Election (of 1892)."

"Organization is the process of forming instruments of action. When the time for action arrives those instruments should be ready: the organizer therefore must not remain inactive until that time comes. . . ."

"No amount of 'paper' organization from a central office will be of any practical use *unless the local instruments are to hand, and prepared to act.* . . ."

"*Our one object is to return, by all legitimate means, regardless of politics, to the House of Commons and other administrative bodies, candidates favourable to Trade interests.* . . ."

"When the Trade fully realizes its political possibilities in a state of efficient organization, *it will become a power in the State.*"

The entire article powerfully suggests the operations of an elaborate political organization, directed by qualified leaders,¹ working through the agency of more than 125,000 licensed houses, and supplied with unlimited funds.² The significance of the whole is summed up in the passage already quoted. "No amount of 'paper' organization from a central office will be of any practical use unless the *local instruments* are to hand and prepared to work." The proposition may appear to be self-evident, but its real importance and bearing upon practical legislation has been strangely overlooked. We shall have occasion to refer to the point further on. Here it will suffice to show how numerous and effective the "local instruments" are.

The following figures give the total number of licensed premises in the United Kingdom in 1896 : ³—

¹ *The Licensing World* of July 12th, 1895, referring to the General Election Campaign of that year, says: "The Board (*i.e.*, the Board of the Licensed Victuallers' Central Protection Society of London) has at its command at this moment a great number of assistants specially skilled in every department of activity now called for, and these men are simply working night and day. The Chairman, Secretary, and the principal members of the Executive—the very cream of the elected leaders of the Trade—are daily, we may say almost hourly, in consultation, directing the work of the vast organization under their command, and applying the forces of the Trade with what we believe will prove to be unerring skill."

² "Mr. BASS told the world that for every pound put down by the Alliance, he and his friends would put down a hundred."—Sir GEORGE O. TREVELYAN, *Speech delivered at Edinburgh, November 28th, 1875.*

³ *Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws Vol. V. (Statistics).*

	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Total.
"On" Licensed Premises	101,903	7,402	16,826	126,131
"Off" " "	24,041	4,224	1,706	29,971
	125,944	11,626	18,532	156,102

In considering these figures, it is to be remembered that each of the 126,131 "On" licensed houses—to say nothing of the 29,971 "Off" licensed houses—will have its own circle of customers, a certain proportion of whom will unquestionably be influenced by the proprietor.¹ The "local instrument" which the organizers of the Trade desire is thus ready to their hand in a singularly efficient form. The publican, like all other tradesmen, wishing to sell as much as he can, will energetically resist the candidature of

¹ The influence upon public opinion and the electoral force likely to be exercised by these Licensed Houses becomes apparent by a comparison of their number with that of existing agencies for education and moral progress.

The number of Primary Day Schools (Inspected) in England and Wales in 1896 was 19,848 (44th No. of Statistical Abstract, p. 255), or less than one-sixth of the number of houses licensed for the retail sale of liquor. *That is to say, for every primary day school there are more than six licensed houses for the sale of liquor.*

Again, from the Census for 1891 (Vol. III., page 10), it appears that in England and Wales the

Clergy of the Established Church numbered	24,232
Roman Catholic Priests	2,511
Ministers of other Religious Bodies . . .	10,057
	<hr/> 36,800

So that *for every Christian minister, as above, there are more than three places licensed for the retail sale of liquor.*

men who would seek to restrict the national consumption. How this vast influence is exercised in Parliamentary Elections will be familiar to the reader.

The rival candidates are catechised upon their position in regard to the Trade, and, irrespective of whatever national questions may be at stake, the Trade influence is cast on the side of the candidate whose answers are deemed the most satisfactory. Under these circumstances, it was perhaps inevitable that the support of the Trade should eventually be given to one of the great parties in the State. And such has been the case. The *Brewers' Almanack* has, in each yearly issue, a full list of the Members of Parliament, with their attitude to the Trade indicated by the words "Favourable," "Against," "Doubtful." Turning to the *Almanack* for 1896—the one next following the General Election of 1895—we find that of the Conservative and Unionist Members, 388 are marked as "Favourable," 9 as "Against," and 13 as "Doubtful." If Great Britain alone is taken, there is only one Conservative or Unionist member marked as "Against." The sharpness of the line of cleavage between the two Parliamentary parties upon this question is further shown by the fact that of the Liberal Members 172 are marked as "Against," only 5 as "Favourable," and 2 as "Doubtful."

It would be a serious mistake to conclude from these figures that the entire Conservative party in the constituencies is hostile to licensing reform. Many of its members deplore that the supposed exigencies of party warfare should have ranged their representatives in support of the Trade. Not only do many Conservatives give laborious service in personal Temperance

effort, but cordially support the far-reaching legislative proposals of the Church of England Temperance Society. The frank recognition of these facts heightens, however, our sense of the menace exercised by the Trade. It has not only been able to impose its demands upon the representatives of a great party, but it has done so notwithstanding the existence of a considerable body of opinion hostile to such demands.

It now remains to be considered what is the direct effect upon the Parliamentary representation brought about by the action of the Trade. Upon this question the most conflicting opinions are put forward, some holding that the effect is insignificant, others that it is exceedingly marked. It is possible, however, to bring this matter to a test, which, whilst making no claim to scientific accuracy as to the exact measure of the influence exerted, affords decisive evidence upon the question whether the influence is, or is not, great.

The number of "On" licensed houses in England and Wales in 1896 was 101,903; in Scotland, 7,402; and the total Electorate in England and Wales at the time of the last General Election in 1895 was 4,959,805, and in Scotland 636,097.¹

It is easy, therefore, to calculate the number of "On" licensed houses in each electorate upon the assumption that each electorate has its proportionate share. As a matter of fact, the number of licensed

¹ The following calculations are confined to England, Wales, and Scotland, as in Ireland the ordinary lines of political cleavage do not exist, the Nationalist question overshadowing every other, and any figures taken from Ireland could only be misleading.

houses in each electorate will sometimes exceed, and in other cases fall below, the proportionate share. But it is doubtful whether this uneven distribution of the licensed houses will materially affect the general conclusions which we deduce.

The General Election of 1895 may be taken as the one in which for the first time (at any rate in recent years) the Trade put forth its full electoral strength.¹

The extent and direction of this influence may be taken from the following declaration of the Trade, extracted from the *Licensed Victuallers' Official Annual* for 1896: "From the beginning of the year (1895) the Executive of the Central Board had devoted its chief thought to preparing for the dissolution, which every one saw was looming ahead. A Special Electoral Department was formed and worked up to a high state of efficiency, as was shown in the County Council Elections, and also in the bye-election at Walworth, consequent on the death of Mr. W. Saunders, M.P. In this latter contest, by far the most important bye-election of the year, the Conservatives, almost solely through the efforts of the London re-

¹ MR. CHARLES WALKER, Chairman of the Licensed Victuallers' Central Protection Society, writing in the *Fortnightly Review* for May, 1893, says: "Whatever strength the Trade possessed at the last (*i.e.* the 1892) General Election will be found multiplied at the next. SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT'S Bill has had the effect of welding the whole Trade—wholesale and retail—into one homogeneous body, and of substituting for that apathy which has been our reproach an enthusiasm which is prepared to go all lengths permitted by the law and to make all sacrifices demanded by the occasion, in defence of our property and our homes."

tailers, and the electoral organization of the Central Board, were able to win a Radical seat by a magnificent majority, and to ring the knell of the Rosebery administration. From the moment when the dissolution was certain, the electoral forces of the Board, raised to their highest strength, occupied the field, and simply pervaded every constituency within the scope of the Board's operations . . . in fine, all that experience could suggest, or energy realize, was done to crush the enemies and secure victory. The result was so magnificent that it needs no emphasizing from us."

Assuming then the electoral efforts of the Trade to have been as stated, we have to consider what effect these efforts had upon the results of the General Election. For the purpose of this inquiry, a list of those constituencies has been made out, in which a contested election resulted in the return of either a Conservative or a Unionist candidate, and in which the transfer of one or two votes for every "On" licensed house from the Conservative or Unionist to the Liberal side would have affected the result. Opposite each name has been entered the majority by which the Conservative or Unionist candidate was returned; while in a second column has been entered the proportionate number of "On" licensed houses in the constituency. The number of votes which, upon the average, an "On" licensed house would be able to influence and transfer from one side to the other can only be estimated. The calculation may, however, be confined to the effect of the transfer of one vote¹ and

¹ To transfer a vote from one side to the other—from Candidate A to Candidate B—is, of course, equivalent in effect to

of two votes; although experienced electioneers, to whom the estimates have been submitted, regard even the higher as inadequate. Upon these low estimates, however, the results are startling in their magnitude.

At the General Election of 1895, the number of seats contested in England, Wales, and Scotland, which resulted in the return of Conservative or Unionist candidates was 270. Now what would have been the result in these 270 Elections had the influence of the "On" licensed houses been eliminated? We may calculate it first upon the assumption that each "On" licensed house caused the transfer of only *one vote* from the Liberal to the Conservative or Unionist candidate, and, secondly, upon the assumption that each "On" licensed house caused a similar transfer of *two votes*. Upon the first supposition, 83 of the 270 seats would have been won by the Liberals, and upon the second supposition, a further number of 69 seats, making 152 in all, would have been so won.¹ To tabulate the result:—

	Conservatives and Unionists returned.	Liberals returned.	Total.
Upon the first supposition, the apportionment of the 270 seats would have been	187	83	270
Upon the second supposi- tion, the apportionment would have been . . .	118	152	270

inducing two voters, who would not otherwise have voted, to support Candidate B.

¹ In the Appendix will be found a detailed list of the 152 instances in which, but for the assumed transfer of votes, a Liberal would have been elected in place of a Conservative or Unionist. See p. 502.

The Conservative and Unionist majority, after the General Election of 1895, reached the high figure of 152. It gives one some idea of the portentous power exercised by the Trade to note that but for its influence exercised through the assumed transfer by each "On" licensed house of but a single vote, the Conservative majority would have been swept away. For if 83 be deducted from the Conservative majority, and the same number be added to the Liberal return, the Conservatives are left in a minority of 14. Equally startling is it to see that, but for the influence of the Trade exercised through the assumed transfer by each licensed house of two votes, the Liberals, instead of being in a minority of 152, would have had a majority of 152, obtained in about equal numbers from the Borough and County constituencies.¹

In order to show that these remarkable results are not due to any special accident in the election figures of 1895, a similar table has been prepared for the Election of 1892.² In that year the electorate for England and Wales numbered 4,770,088, and for Scotland 606,403. The "On" licensed premises are taken at 103,000 for England and Wales, and at 7,500 for Scotland. The exact figures are not available,

¹ That the result is not materially affected by basing the calculation upon the proportionate number of licensed houses rather than upon the actual number (which is not to be obtained for more than a few of the Parliamentary areas) is shown by the fact that in the case of certain Boroughs where the Parliamentary area coincides with the Licensing area, and where the actual figures are available, the result is substantially the same.

² See Appendix, p. 510.

but these estimates may be taken as below the mark. Following the exact lines of the inquiry for 1895, we may note that in 1892 the number of seats contested in England, Wales, and Scotland which resulted in the return of Conservative or Unionist candidates was 258. The influence of the Trade may be again calculated upon the two suppositions — first, that each licensed house caused the transfer of *one* vote only from the Liberal to the Conservative or Unionist candidate; and, secondly, that each licensed house caused a similar transfer of *two* votes. Upon the first supposition, 72 of the 258 seats would have been won by the Liberals, and upon the second supposition, a further number of 59 seats, making 131 in all, would have been so won. To tabulate the result :—

	Conservatives and Unionists returned.	Liberals returned.	Total.
Upon the first supposition, the apportionment of the 258 seats would have been	186	72	258
Upon the second supposi- tion, the apportionment would have been . . .	127	131	258

The Liberal majority at the General Election of 1892 was 40. Apart, however, from the influence assumed to have been exercised by the Trade through the transfer by each "On" licensed house of but a single vote from the Liberal to the Conservative or Unionist candidate, the Liberal majority would have been, not 40, but 184; while but for the influence exercised through a similar transfer of two votes, the

Liberal majority would have been larger than any majority since the Reform Bill of 1832,¹ viz., 302.²

In the foregoing calculations, no account has been taken of the influence exerted by the "Off" licensed houses, which in 1896 numbered 24,041 in England and Wales, and 4,224 in Scotland. The influence of the "Off" licences, although less than that of the "On" licences, must be very considerable. Nor has

¹ Majorities at each General Election since 1832:—

1832 L. 300	1857 L. 92	1880 L. 176
1835 L. 108	1859 L. 40	1885 L. 170
1837 L. 40	1865 C. 50	1886 C. 118
1841 C. 79	1868 L. 100	1892 L. 40
1847 L. 2	1874 C. 52	1895 C. 152
1852 C. 8		

² It is interesting in this connection to quote the following passage from Mr. Chamberlain's pamphlet, *The Right Method with the Publicans*, published in 1876: "In boroughs where parties are evenly divided, it is too much to expect that either side will incur the reprobation of a powerful trade which furnishes one householder to every thirty, *and each member of which boasts that he can bring five voters to the poll.*" To bring five voters to the poll is equivalent to transferring 2½ votes from one side to the other.

Writing from Toronto on September 15th, 1898, the correspondent of the *Voice* said: "Two secret circulars sent out by the executive of the Ontario Licence Holders' Protective Association have just come to light, and reveal the desperate tactics and tyrannical methods of the Ontario whisky sellers. They are headed with the names of the executive. The first circular calls for a special assessment by each local association for the campaign, and includes the following significant sentences: 'Our success in the fight will depend upon the thorough manner in which each individual will carry out the plan in his own immediate vicinity. The convention considered that each licence-holder should be at least able to poll 25 friendly votes.'"

any account been taken of the constituencies in which there was no contest. The figures which have been given, however, indicate that many majorities now regarded as too great to overcome would be enormously reduced if the influence of the Trade were withdrawn.

It would be a grave mistake to treat this question as primarily one between Liberals and Conservatives, or to assume that the thoughtful members of the party, which, so far as voters are concerned, now benefits by the alliance with the Trade, regard this alliance with satisfaction. No statesman, whether Conservative or Liberal, would for one moment imagine that the building up of a rightly ordered commonwealth is likely to be furthered by the electoral support of a monopolist class whose "one object" is "to return candidates" who will carry out its own behests. Nor is any institution which is worthy to be "conserved" likely to be ultimately strengthened by such support. It is not matter for wonder that Statesmen are dismayed at the growth of a power which threatens to dominate the legislature, a power whose "one object is to return, by all legitimate means, regardless of politics, to the House of Commons and other administrative bodies, candidates favourable to Trade interests."¹ Lord Rosebery, among others, has shown himself keenly alive to the danger, as will be seen by a few extracts from recent speeches:—

"I am not a fanatic in Temperance reform. I am, I hope, a sensible and level-minded politician on that

¹ See article already quoted on "Trade Electoral Organization," by Mr. H. A. Newton, Manager, National Trade Defence Fund, in *Brewers' Almanack* for 1894, p. 164.

and on all other subjects, but I cannot but be struck by the pathetic urgency with which the appeals for dealing with this question come from every part of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales; and though I say I am not a fanatic on this question, I view the uncontrolled condition of our liquor traffic as a serious danger, for two reasons.

“In the first place, no one can deny that there is a great deal too much drink in this country, and that much of the crime, and much of the pauperism, and almost all the degradation prevalent in this country are attributable to the curse of drink. That does not mean, of course, that there should be no use, but it does mean that there should be a check placed on abuse. But the second point on which I regard it as a danger is this, that it is becoming too great a power in the State. I go so far as to say this, that *if the State does not soon control the liquor traffic, the liquor traffic will control the State.*” Again:—

“Then there is the great contest with regard to alcoholic liquors. That involves a twofold conflict. In one aspect, that in which it is meant to promote Temperance, it has my heartiest sympathy; but in another aspect it has even more—my most enthusiastic support—and that is that it will put an end to a political ring *which threatens to throttle and control the Commonwealth itself.*”¹

And again:—

“I see the danger coming nearer and nearer, that owing to the enormous influence wielded, directly and

¹ *The Times*, July 3rd, 1895.

indirectly, by those who are concerned in upholding the drink traffic, *we are approaching a condition of things perilously near the corruption of our political system.*"

Hitherto in this chapter, attention has been concentrated upon the menace of the Trade to the Imperial Legislature. But the menace reaches far beyond this. In the avowed objects of the Trade Defence Associations are passages like the following: "To aid in securing to the Trade such Parliamentary, *Municipal*, and *Parochial* representation as is necessary for the protection of its interests"; "to secure by all legal means, regardless of partly politics, the return to the House of Commons, *and other elected bodies*, of candidates favourable to Trade interests." At the Annual General Meeting of the South London Licensed Victuallers, reported in the *Morning Advertiser* of May 6th, 1898, the Secretary stated "that the Committee strongly urged the Members to take an active interest in the coming vestry elections." Mr. Meech also referred "to the vital necessity for the Trade interesting itself in the elections." Nor can it be said that the Trade has been slow in acting upon this counsel.

The *Licensed Victuallers' Official Annual* for 1896, in its chapter on "Four Years of Organized Work: a Story of Triumphant Success," states: "Just prior to the General Election (1892) the Board (*i.e.*, the Board of the Licensed Victuallers' Central Protection Society of London) had also thrown upon its hands the important work of *conducting* the triennial election of the London County Council. The County Council Election took place early in March, but the Executive

entered into the fray with whole-hearted zeal. All the candidates were questioned, a list of those to be supported by the Trade was prepared and advertised in the public Press, and all other necessary steps, such as those mentioned in connection with the General Election, were rigorously and promptly taken."

The London County Council elected in 1892 nevertheless excited the hostility of the Trade; and when the triennial elections came round in 1895, "it was felt"—so says the *Licensed Victuallers' Official Annual*—"that they demanded the most energetic intervention of the Trade. The Progressive majority returned in 1892 had proved bitterly hostile to the liquor industry." Among other crimes, "it started a crusade of 'purity,' which, though directed nominally at the music-halls, was intended ultimately to undermine the whole licensing system." "Elaborate electioneering preparations were made under the supervision of the Electoral Department of the Board; operators were provided wherever needed; the efforts of the local societies were backed up in all ways; lists of candidates favourable to the Trade were prepared, *and the influence of the Trade was exercised to the utmost in every division throughout the Metropolis.*"

"The result of a clear stand-up fight was that our foes were simply smashed. . . . By the common consent of friends and foes alike this splendid result was due more directly to the influence exercised by the Trade, under the leadership of the Central Board, than to any other force. Radical newspapers and Nonconformist ministers naturally deplored what they openly admitted to be a great triumph for the Trade;

and the National Trade Defence Fund, as representing the Wholesale and Retail Traders of the United Kingdom, passed a vote of thanks and congratulations to the Board upon the great work it had done."

Other influences, as is well known, helped to determine the results of the London County Council Election of 1895. But, remembering the effect that would be produced upon the constitution of Parliament by the transfer, through each public-house, of one or two votes from the candidate of one party to the candidate of the other, it may be assumed that, except on occasions when London is deeply stirred, the Trade will be able to exercise an enormous influence upon the character and personnel of its governing body; an influence that will be used "regardless of politics" to return candidates favourable to "Trade interests."

Each year witnesses a growing perception of the place and importance of municipal government. The health of the community, drainage, the cleanliness of streets and courts, the housing of the working classes, the provision of open spaces and playgrounds, public baths, the efficiency of the police, the management of asylums, facilities for technical education, and, not least, the wise and economical administration of the City funds, are among the matters with which City Councils have now to deal, and upon the intelligent and honest treatment of which the conditions of life in the district will depend.

It is a grave menace to municipal life when a powerful and wealthy trade, possessing exceptional means of influencing the electorate, disregards the claims of civic patriotism and subordinates questions

of public welfare to the return of candidates "favourable to Trade interests."

The danger in its acute form is of recent growth. Hitherto, we have prided ourselves upon the purity of our municipal life, and so long as the community did not interfere with the drink traffic, the Trade had no need to concern itself with municipal contests.

Mr. COSMO BONSOR, M.P., President of the Licensed Victuallers' Central Protection Society of London, speaking as recently as April 12th, 1892, at the inaugural banquet of the new Board, said: "You have never before been properly organized; you have never been united; now . . . you are both organized and united."

It is clear, therefore, that just in proportion as the State or Municipality attempts to make its arrangements favourable to Temperance, will the Trade seek to protect itself by controlling Municipal and State legislation.

In the United States the danger has been fully realized. "The liquor traffic, being very profitable, has been able, when attacked by prohibitory legislation, to pay fines, bribes, hush money, and assessments for political purposes to large amounts. This money has tended to corrupt the lower courts, the police administration, political organizations, and even the electorate itself. Wherever the voting force of the liquor traffic and its allies is considerable, candidates for office and office holders are tempted to serve a dangerous trade interest, which is often in antagonism to the public interest. Frequent yielding to this temptation causes general degeneration in public life,

breeds contempt for the public service, and, of course, makes the service less desirable for upright men.”¹

Writing of the Tammany Ring of New York, Mr. McKenzie (author of *Sober by Act of Parliament*) says: “The plunderers are elected to office mainly by the saloon vote.” And again: “Moreover, any party of reform has to reckon with the thirty thousand votes of the city, drink-sellers and their men, which are cast solid for Tammany so long as it helps them. Without the saloon and its help, Tammany would not keep together for twelve months; but, with its influence on its side, it is no easy task to overcome it.” The Right Hon. James Bryce, in his chapter upon “The Tammany Ring in New York City,” says: “Considering what by origin, by training, by environment, and by tastes and habits, are the persons who rule the city through Tammany—considering the criminal element among them, *and their close association with the liquor saloon*, it may excite surprise that the government, corrupt as it is, is not also more wasteful.”²

It appears probable that the main source of the municipal misrule prevalent in the cities of the Union which so impresses European observers is to be found in the saloon system. A writer in the *Atlantic Monthly*³ says: “To think of political reform with the influence of the saloon in politics what it is seems almost fatuous. To discuss the subject of political

¹ *The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects*. By the “Committee of Fifty.”

² *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. II. p. 402.

³ G. F. Parsons, *The Saloon in Politics*.

reform without taking this weighty factor into consideration seems almost puerile. To belittle the importance of the saloon is most dangerous. To essay compromise with it is a fatal mistake. In the nature of the case it must be eliminated, or it must dominate everything. Full freedom having been accorded it thus far, it has made a long stride toward dominion. Even among those who clearly recognise the perils of the situation, it has become an axiomatic statement that it is useless to oppose the saloon in the cities."

Those who have studied the volumes of evidence of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Licensing Laws will be cognizant of the dangers already threatening the municipal life of this country through the influence of the drink traffic—especially in relation to the action of Watch Committees, and the administration of the Police. Not only are there the glaring scandals of Manchester and Wigan, but abundant evidence is given in respect of other large towns¹ to show that the evils which have been so disastrous in the civic life of the United States are already beginning to assert themselves in the municipal life of this country.

To sum up, it has been the purpose of this chapter to set forth and approximately to measure the danger to the State through the attempt on the part of a wealthy monopolist trade to obtain control of the sources of imperial and local power, and to use such power in the interests of its monopoly, apart from other considerations. It has been shown that this

¹ *E.g.*, Liverpool, Derby, Nottingham, Hull, Brighton, and Devonport; also the County of Bedford.

Trade possesses enormous wealth, and a highly efficient organization, capable of exerting through its local instruments—*i.e.*, the licensed houses—a direct and powerful influence upon the electorate. The independence of Parliament and the purity of municipal life are alike imperilled. Nor is there any probability that the danger will grow less. On the contrary, the more strenuous the efforts made to mould national and local arrangements in the interests of Temperance, the more determined will be the efforts of the Trade to obtain control of the sources of power.¹

This aspect of the drink question has not hitherto received the attention which its gravity demands. But, in view of the facts adduced, it is evident that no measure of licensing reform will meet the needs of the situation which does not take cognizance of and effectually deal with this menace.

The question which awaits solution is, how best to eliminate the public-house interest as a political force, and to dissociate politics from the sale of drink.

¹ It may, of course, be urged that, in its electoral action, the Trade is but actuated by the ordinary motive of self-interest. But it is obvious that this fact in no way lessens the gravity of the situation. The evil to the Commonwealth remains, be the motive what it may.

CHAPTER III

Prohibition

The accessible information on this subject is unusually voluminous and exhaustive, and, although of unequal value to the student, is nevertheless, to a considerable extent, of final and unquestionable authority. While the aim of the present writers has been to approach the discussion of the subject with an entire freedom from bias, and to weigh carefully all available evidence on both sides of the question, chief reliance has naturally been placed upon sources of information of an official character.

For a list of the authorities consulted, see Appendix, p. 570.

OF the numerous suggestions made for the solution of the drink problem, that which aims at the total suppression of the traffic through the exercise of a popular prohibitive veto naturally claims first attention, inasmuch as it represents the deliberate policy of an influential section of Temperance reformers whose convictions carry claims to full respect. It is unnecessary, in the present instance, to lay stress upon the abstract side of the question, inasmuch as the practical possibilities of the system are sufficiently suggested by important historic experiments.

That certain *a priori* objections have been urged against the principle of prohibition is true, but they are not of a kind which call for special consideration

here. The objection, for example, that it is an unwarrantable interference with individual liberty is probably more academic than practical, and is hardly supported by political practice. The organic unity of society is a cardinal principle of political science against which the individualist may be said to protest in vain. The oft-quoted passage in which John Stuart Mill condemned the Maine Law, and behind which much of the current *a priori* opposition to prohibition shelters itself, becomes far less convincing when it is remembered that it depends entirely for its weight upon his assumption that "the act of drinking fermented liquors belongs to acts and habits which are not social, but individual," and the statement is itself sufficiently refuted by other passages of the same essay. For instance, it is Mill himself who tells us that "as soon as any part of a person's conduct affects prejudicially the interests of others, society has jurisdiction over it, and the question whether the general welfare will or will not be promoted by interfering with it becomes open to discussion. . . . To individuality should belong the part of life in which it is chiefly the individual that is interested; to society, the part which chiefly interests society. . . . Whenever, in short, there is a definite damage, or a definite risk of damage, either to an individual or to the public, the case is taken out of the province of liberty, and placed in that of morality or law."¹ The same broad truth has been stated in other words by an even greater authority, whose philosophical judgment was certainly unbiased by fanatical considerations. "Every one," says Immanuel Kant, "may seek his

¹ *Essay on Liberty.*

own happiness in the way that seems good to himself, provided that he infringe not such freedom of others to strive after a similar end as is consistent with the freedom of all according to a possible general law." The only questions, indeed, in philosophy as in politics, are—(1) whether the social consequences of the evil as it exists are sufficiently grave to justify the stringent character of the suggested remedy, and (2) whether that remedy carries within itself a sufficient promise of practical success. In other words, the question is practical rather than philosophical, and to be determined by experiment rather than by logic. Whatever may have been the accepted social philosophy in England forty years ago, it is hardly necessary to-day to point out that a theory of society that aims at the complete autonomy of the individual is not only essentially anarchistic, but, from the view of social politics, entirely impracticable.¹

¹ The position and policy of the State in regard to these questions are admirably stated in the Report of the Select Committee (House of Commons) on Intemperance in 1834. In summarising the results of its investigations the Committee lays down the following broad conclusions:—

(a) "That the *right* to exercise legislative interference for the correction of any evil which affects the public weal cannot be questioned, without dissolving society into its primitive elements, and going back from the combined and co-operative state of civilization, with all its wholesome and lawfully imposed restraints, to the isolated and lawless condition of savage and solitary nature."

(b) "That the *power* to apply correction by legislative means cannot be doubted, without supposing the sober, the intelligent, the just, and the moral portion of the community unable to control the excesses of the ignorant and disorderly, which would be to declare our incapacity to maintain the first principles of government by ensuring the public safety."

PROHIBITION IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE United States of America furnish, practically, the only instance of prohibition¹ on a scale sufficiently large to entitle it to be considered a satisfactory test of the efficiency of the system. In one or two British Colonies a system of local prohibition has, it is true, from time to time been adopted;² but the experiments in these cases have been too partial and intermittent to furnish so clear and conclusive a test of the system as is supplied by certain of the American States, which it is proposed in the present instance to consider. It is important, however, to notice at the outset a fact too frequently overlooked in the discussion of the question in England; namely, that not even in the prohibition States of America has the suppression of the use of alcoholic liquors as beverages been accomplished. In the sense in which the matter is sometimes conceived of in this country prohibition does not exist. The prohibitory laws in force in the United States aim merely at the suppression of the liquor traffic (*i.e.*, the buying and selling of liquor for beverage purposes) within the boundaries of the particular States which have adopted such laws. In so far, however, as the traffic is, or may become, an inter-State or foreign traffic, it is subject to the Federal law. A citizen, for example, who resides in a State where a prohibitory law exists cannot be prevented by the laws of that State from purchasing liquor in some other State (or in a foreign country) where it is not illegal to make sales, and having it

¹ The case of Sweden is, of course, one of *local option*, applied to rural districts only.

² See pp. 207-212.

transported into his own State for his personal use. In other words, it is the local manufacturer and the local dealer, and not the consumer of alcohol, who are placed under the ban of prohibition.

Prohibition is now the law of six American States and one territory ; namely, Maine, Iowa,¹ Kansas, New Hampshire, Vermont, North Dakota, and Alaska. Four of these have prohibition amendments to their constitutions. It has been tried and abandoned² in Delaware, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Indiana, Nebraska, Michigan, Illinois, and South Dakota.

The table on page 123 shows the States that have at different times adopted prohibition, and the duration of the experiment in each.

DENSITY OF POPULATION.

If we carefully analyse the particulars given in the accompanying table, and compare the history of the prohibition experiment in each State with the statistics of population, area, etc., a remarkable result appears. It quickly becomes apparent that prohibition has only permanently succeeded (*i.e.*, been continued) in sparsely populated States, while it has invariably failed (*i.e.*, been abandoned) in the more densely populated States that have given it a trial.²

¹ As will be pointed out later, Iowa is only nominally a prohibition State, the legislature having in 1894 enacted a "mulct" law which taxes the traffic, and establishes what is practically a system of local option and licence. See footnote, p. 127.

² It is to be noted, however, that several of the States that have abandoned prohibition as a *State* system have nevertheless made it possible of *local* enactment by substituting the principle of local option. See p. 207.

ADOPTED.	STATE.	REPEALED.	REMARKS.
(1) 1846	Maine	1856	Re-enacted 1858.
(2) 1851	Illinois	1853	
(3) 1852	Massachusetts	1868	Re-enacted 1869; Repealed 1875.
(4) 1852	Rhode Island	1863	
(5) 1852	Vermont		Still in force.
(6) 1854	Connecticut	1872	
(7) 1855	Delaware	1857	
(8) 1855	Indiana	1858	
(9) 1855	Iowa		Partial law only; re-enacted more completely 1883. In 1894, passed a law to tax the traffic and providing for local option.
(10) 1855	Michigan	1875	
(11) 1855	Nebraska	1858	
(12) 1855	New Hampshire		Still in force; sale only prohibited.
(13) 1855	New York		Declared unconstitutional.
1858	Maine		Still in force.
(14) 1867	Kansas	1879	Partial law only.
1874	Rhode Island	1875	
1879-80	Kansas		Constitutional Amendment; still in force.
(15) 1885	South Dakota (then a territory)	1896	Continued in force by State, 1889; Repealed 1896.
1886	Rhode Island	1889	Constitutional Amendment carried and subsequently annulled.
(16) 1887	Alaska (territory).		Still in force.
(17) 1890	North Dakota (as a territory)		Still in force under State law.

¹ In 1861 the law was amended as follows:—Manufacturing alcohol, 80 per cent. pure, or over, to sell out of the State, and making cider and wine, and the sale of the same in quantities of one gallon or over, and manufacturing beer and the sale thereof in quantities of five gallons or over, not to be drunk on the premises, were excepted from the prohibitory law. (Laws, 1861, No. 226.)

The following figures give the *average* density of population in (a) the six States in which prohibition still exists, and (b) the nine States that have tried and abandoned the system. The details of the comparison are given elsewhere :¹—

	No. of Persons per Square Mile.	
	When Prohibition was adopted.	In 1890.
Prohibition States . . .	16	25
Ex-Prohibition States .	48	105

It will thus be seen that, taking the years in which prohibition was first adopted as the basis of comparison, the average density of population of the States that have *abandoned* prohibition was three times as great as the average density of population of the States that have *continued* prohibition. If we confine the comparison to the four most densely populated States in each of the two divisions, a still more decisive result appears, the figures being in the proportion of more than four to one.²

PROPORTION OF URBAN POPULATION.

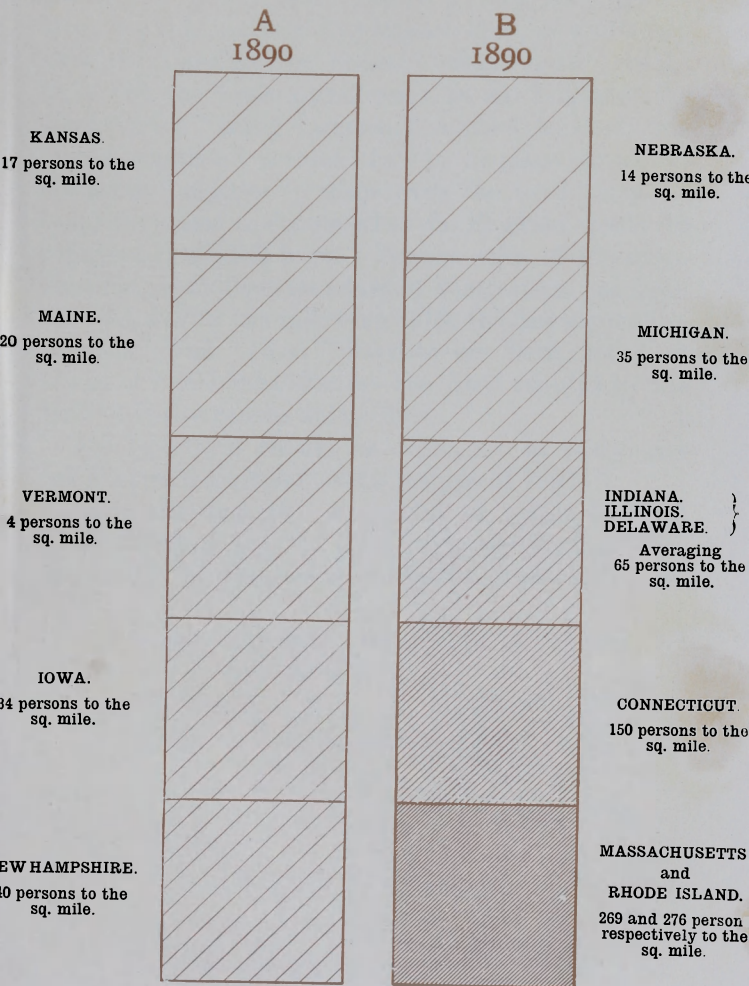
An even clearer indication of the relation which density of population bears to the success or failure of prohibition is seen when we compare the proportion of

¹ See Appendix, p. 517.

² See Appendix, p. 519. It is important also to notice that while the States that have continued prohibition are, without exception, sparsely populated States, no fewer than six of the nine States that have abandoned prohibition were sparsely populated at the time that they adopted the system.

DIAGRAM

Showing the Density of Population in (A) Prohibition States, and
(B) States that have abandoned Prohibition as a State System.



urban to rural population in (a) the States that have continued prohibition, and (b) the States that have abandoned prohibition. Before giving the figures, however, it is important to explain that, as commonly used in America, the terms "urban" and "rural" have not the same significance as in England, the word "town" being commonly applied to small and thinly populated centres that in England would be classed as "villages"; while even the word "city" is frequently used to denote what in England would be regarded as a small town. For the sake of clearness, therefore, a uniform standard of comparison has been adopted, and in the following table the line separating "urban" and "rural" districts has been drawn at towns of 8,000 inhabitants—the limit adopted by the United States census authorities.

The figures, it should be noted, are in every case based upon the official census returns of 1890.

Table showing the proportion of urban to rural population in (a) States that have *continued* prohibition and (b) States that have *abandoned* prohibition:—

(a) STATES THAT HAVE *CONTINUED* PROHIBITION.

STATE.	Total Population.	Urban Population (<i>i.e.</i> , in towns of 8,000 and upwards).	Rural Population (<i>i.e.</i> , in towns of less than 8,000 inhabitants).
		Per cent.	Per cent.
New Hampshire.	376,530	28	72
Maine	661,086	20	80
Iowa	1,911,896	14	86
Kansas	1,427,096	12	88
Vermont	332,422	8	92
North Dakota.	182,719	—	100

(b) STATES THAT HAVE *ABANDONED* PROHIBITION
(i.e., as a *State* system).

STATE.	Total Population.	Urban Popu- lation (i.e., in towns of 8,000 and upwards).	Rural Popu- lation (i.e., in towns of less than 8,000 inhabitants).
		Per cent.	Per cent.
Rhode Island.	345,506	79	21
Massachusetts	2,238,943	70	30
Connecticut	746,258	52	48
Illinois	3,826,351	39	61
Delaware	168,493	37	63
Michigan	2,093,889	26	74
Nebraska	1,058,910	24	76
Indiana	2,192,404	18	82
South Dakota.	328,808	3	97

If we carry our analysis further, and compare the proportion of population living in towns of (a) 30,000 inhabitants and upwards, and (b) 50,000 inhabitants and upwards in the two divisions, the result is even more striking.

Taking the six prohibition States, out of a total population of 4,891,749 persons, only 268,084, or five per cent. of the whole, live in towns of 30,000 and upwards; while only 50,093 persons, or one per cent. of the total population, live in towns of 50,000 and upwards.

On the other hand, taking the nine States that have abandoned prohibition, out of a total population of 12,999,562 persons, no fewer than 3,326,360, or twenty-six per cent. of the whole, live in towns of 30,000 and upwards; while no less than 2,856,888 persons, or twenty-two per cent. of the total population, live in towns of 50,000 and upwards.

It is even more significant that Iowa, which pos-

sesses nearly one-half (*i.e.*, three out of a total of seven) of the towns of 30,000 inhabitants and upwards to be found in the six prohibition States, is only nominally a prohibition State. In 1894 the State legislature passed a so-called "mulct" law, which taxes the traffic and establishes what is practically a system of licence.¹

This fact considered alone would be extremely suggestive, but taken, as it must be, in conjunction with the results which appear in the foregoing series of comparisons, it acquires a cumulative force which is practically irresistible in compelling a conviction of the impracticableness of prohibition in thickly populated districts. As a matter of fact, prohibition, however successful in rural districts—and its success there need not be questioned—has invariably failed when applied to important urban centres.²

¹ The first section of the "Mulct" Act imposes a tax of \$600 per annum upon any real property and the owner thereof within or whereon intoxicating liquors are sold or kept with the intention of being sold. In subsequent sections it is provided that in any city of 5,000 or more inhabitants, the tax specified may be paid quarterly in advance, and, after a written statement of consent, signed by a majority of the voters resident in the said city who voted at the last general election, shall have been filed with the county auditor, the quarterly payment then made is to be a bar to proceedings under the statute prohibiting such business. It is further provided that the City Council must also, by resolution, sanction such sales.

² The following official reference to the failure of State prohibition in Massachusetts is of interest in this connection: "The great problem how to remedy or diminish the immense evils that flow from the intemperate use of intoxicating liquors is still unsolved. All experiments to this end have failed. For many years we have had on trial a system of legislation prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors, and we have had, in pursuance of it, constant prosecutions, seizures, fines, and im-

PRACTICAL EFFECTS OF THE SYSTEM.

Before proceeding to a detailed examination of the actual working results of prohibition in a particular State, it may be well to make a general examination of its alleged results in diminishing crime, drunkenness, pauperism, etc., in those States that have adopted and maintained the system. The method of argument is not one to which the present writers attach great importance, since, however impartially followed, it can have little scientific value, the statistics to which appeal must be made being necessarily governed by circumstances which are neither uniform nor always apparent. But the use of this form of argument in the discussion of the present question is so frequent, and the claims based upon what are often quite unauthoritative statistics so misleading, that it may be well carefully to examine the official figures, and to

prisonments, but up to this hour no appreciable decrease in the sale and consumption of the prohibited commodities. No different result could, I think, have been reasonably anticipated, considering that the prohibitory legislation is manifestly opposed to public sentiment in the larger cities and towns of Massachusetts. It is disapproved not only by those whose appetite or pecuniary interest is their supreme law, but by a great number of sober, thoughtful, philanthropic citizens, who have at heart the highest moral welfare of the community, and who believe that such legislation is impracticable in its nature, unsound in principle, and, therefore, worse than ineffectual. This legislation may be enforced, perhaps, in some of the rural districts, with a sparse population, where it is in accordance with public sentiment; but it fails, and must fail, in the large cities, on which it is imposed, as it were, from outside by the representatives of the small towns."—*Extract from the Inaugural Address of the Mayor of Boston (Mass.), January 4th, 1874.*

compare them with similar figures for certain non-prohibition States.

In a comparison of this kind the selection of the areas to be compared cannot be arbitrarily or capriciously made, but must be determined by such considerations as similarity in population, geographical position, etc.

In the following series of comparisons—the full details of which are given in a later chapter¹—such considerations alone have decided the selection of the non-prohibition areas, the endeavour being simply to select areas that correspond at least approximately in population to the prohibition areas, and that are situated in the same geographical divisions. It is an interesting but wholly undesigned coincidence that four of the States so selected are States that appear in the foregoing tables as areas that have tried and abandoned prohibition.

I.—*Statistics of Drunkenness.*

We select first the statistics of drunkenness. The appeal in this case, it is hardly necessary to point out, although a very frequent one, is of little value for comparative purposes.

It may be questioned, indeed, whether in the whole range of criminal statistics any other figures are so entirely dependent upon temporary, local, and shifting conditions. An increase in the number of arrests, for example, “may mean more crime; or it may mean a sharper administration; or it may mean a change of law, either making acts criminal which before were

¹ See Appendix, pp. 520–541.

permitted, or rendering crimes more easy of detection. Variations of administration are specially apparent in the treatment by the police of drunkenness in the streets; a mere alteration in the instructions given to the patrolmen on their beats may produce a most marked effect on the returns of arrests for drunkenness at the end of the year, without indicating really any change whatever in the habits of the people, or in the law, or in their respect for it."¹

At the same time, however, quite apart from the question of their strict comparative worth, the figures have, in common with other criminal statistics, a certain broad sociological interest and value, and continue, perhaps rightly, to attract attention as a rough indication of the success or failure of competing licensing systems. Inasmuch, therefore, as they are popularly supposed to have this value, it may be well to examine them.

The criminal statistics for the United States are unfortunately far from complete, and the method of tabulation appears to vary greatly in different towns and cities; but accepting the most reliable of the available statistics (*i.e.*, those derived from official sources²), it becomes clear at the outset that prohibition, whatever else it may have accomplished, has failed to bring about any important diminution of

¹ *Liquor Legislation in the United States and Canada*, p. 39. See also on this question Appendix, p. 524.

² The figures quoted for the prohibition and non-prohibition States in the succeeding tables have been carefully compiled from returns supplied by the local authorities to the Royal Canadian Commissioners.

drunkenness. Indeed, if statistics, supported in this case by unassailable evidence, have even the smallest significance and value, it would seem to have had a precisely opposite result.

Returns are, unfortunately, not available for the whole of the States selected, and comparison is only possible, therefore, in respect of those for which the returns are fairly complete. In the case of the Prohibition States, the three largest cities in each State have been chosen. In the case of the non-Prohibition States, the selection was compulsorily restricted to the cities for which returns were available.¹

In order to eliminate, as far as possible, the influence of merely accidental variations such as sometimes affect the returns for single years, a period of six years (*i.e.*, from 1888-1893) has been chosen. The full particulars of the comparison are given in a subsequent chapter,² but the result may be summarised here. The figures are as follow:—

PROHIBITION STATES.

STATE AND CITY.		Population (1890).	Average number of arrests (1888-1893) per 1,000 of the population.	
			All offences.	Drunkenness.
Maine	Portland	36,425	49·98	32·19
	Lewiston.	21,701	18·53 ³	13·03 ³
	Bangor	19,103	80·13	49·79
Kansas	Kansas City	38,316	62·56	13·89
	Topeka	31,007	46·65	10·59
	Wichita	23,853	66·55 ⁴	19·24 ⁴
Iowa	Des Moines	50,093	47·64	16·48
	Sioux City	37,806	62·98	18·26
	Dubuque	30,311	26·82	14·99
Average for three States		32,068	51·31	20·94

¹ Choice was only possible in the case of Michigan, and here the three largest cities for which statistics were available were selected. ² See Appendix, p. 522. ³ 1891-2. ⁴ 1893.

NON-PROHIBITION STATES.

STATE AND CITY.	Population ¹ (1890).	Average number of arrests (1888-1893) per 1,000 of the population.	
		All offences.	Drunkenness.
Michigan {	Detroit	42.34	15.87
	Grand Rapids	29.49	11.47
	Saginaw	46.50	18.50
Minnesota {	Minneapolis	33.96	14.00
	St. Paul	43.96	15.32
Nebraska {	Omaha	58.60	13.87
	Beatrice ²	4.66	2.60
Average for three States		37.07	13.09

It will thus be seen that even allowing for all possible local differences in methods of police administration, the figures are seriously against the prohibition areas. If allowance be also made for the relatively larger proportion of urban population in the non-prohibition States, the result is even more remarkable.

If, again, we compare the figures for the three prohibition States with similar figures for London, the result is still unfavourable to prohibition:—

¹ It should be noted that while the population for 1890 is given in each of the above tables the ratio of offences has been worked out on the basis of the population in each year.

² The town of Beatrice has been chosen compulsorily. It is the only other Nebraskan city for which statistics are available. If, however, it be compared with prohibition cities of equal size, the importance of the figures will become apparent.

YEAR.	Prohibition States (average for nine cities).		London (Metropolitan Police District).	
	All offences.	Drunkenness.	All offences.	Drunkenness.
1888	53·31	24·56	13·56	4·22
1889	50·69	22·80	13·80	4·79
1890	57·22	23·09	14·32	5·37
1891	50·19	20·72	14·59	5·35
1892	47·86	19·78	14·61	5·27
1893	51·65	17·44	14·34	5·53
Average	51·82	21·40	14·20	5·09

It would be unwise to emphasize the importance of these figures, but, at the same time, looking at them in the most general way, it is clear that they challenge the value of prohibition as a restraint upon drunkenness. Moreover, making all necessary allowance for variety of police practice and administration in different towns and cities, the figures would still seem to possess a certain broad comparative value. The administration of the law against drunkenness in England is undoubtedly variable and defective, but if the evidence of judges, police officials, and Temperance leaders is to be trusted, its enforcement is both casual and seriously defective in the principal prohibition cities also. The late General Neal Dow, indeed, gave it as his opinion that the laws were better enforced in England than in Maine.¹ In the course of his examination before the Royal Canadian Commission on June 27th, 1893, he said:—

“ When I was Mayor (*i.e.*, in 1851) every man who

¹ See *Evidence of the Royal Canadian Commission*, Vol. V. p. 473.

indicated he was drunk was arrested, but now they do not do that unless the man is noisy and disturbing the peace."

Another witness—a "Past Most Worthy Patriarch of the Sons of Temperance"—on being informed that evidence had been given that drunken persons who were not disorderly were not arrested, and that in the preceding year "men shook their fists in the face of the police in Portland, and dared them to arrest them," said: "I have no doubt of it."

"And that would naturally reduce the number of arrests very largely in the city of Portland?"—"Yes."

The ex-City Marshal of Portland, when questioned on the point, said: "It has always been the practice of the officers, if they found a man intoxicated, and if he was unable to go home, to take him to the station. If he was able to go home, they would rather see him go home."

If further evidence were required, the testimony of Mr. John Koren, the Special Commissioner of the United States "Committee of Fifty," and a thoroughly competent and careful investigator, would be conclusive. Speaking of the results of his own personal investigations in Portland, he says:—

"The frequency of public drunkenness, and the indifference of the police to it, may be illustrated by the following entries from the writer's note-book:—

"May 18th, 1894. Twenty intoxicated persons, some of them in a helpless condition, were encountered in the course of less than an hour's walk.

“‘May 20th. Five boys were discovered sleeping off a debauch on a wharf. Policemen took no notice, although attention was called. Boys apparently between fifteen and twenty.

“‘May 26th. While standing outside the — Hotel, between 11.30 p.m. and 12 m., forty drunken men were counted, several unable to take care of themselves, and tacking aimlessly about. Policemen saw them; and one, who had his attention called to it, returned a curt ‘Mind your own business.’”¹

That the practice is not confined to Portland is evident from the statements of the Chief of the Auburn police, the Judge of the Municipal Court at Lewiston, and others.²

Summing up the whole of the evidence, therefore, it is clear that a comparison between the chief prohibition towns and the non-prohibition towns, although not scientifically perfect, as, indeed, no such comparison can be, is, nevertheless, at least approximately reliable, and in any case is not seriously weakened by considerations of stricter police administration in the former.

But, apart altogether from the comparative value of the figures given in the preceding tables, it is certain that, despite the restrictions imposed by the prohibitory laws, a large measure of drunkenness prevails in the prohibition towns and cities. This fact is not disputed; and although important explanations of the fact are not far to seek, they serve but to

¹ *The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects*, pp. 59, 60.

² See *Evidence of the Royal Canadian Commission*, Vol. V.

deepen distrust in the efficacy of prohibition outside the rural districts.¹

II.—*Statistics of Crime.*

We select next the statistics of crime. The relation — direct and indirect — of intemperance to crime, although obvious to every student of the social problem and a familiar ground of appeal in Temperance advocacy, has hardly yet been precisely or authoritatively fixed. The available data are indeed so variable and incomplete that reliable and scientific deductions are practically impossible, and even official statistics can only be accepted as furnishing certain broad clues to the practical tendencies of opposing systems.

¹ Apart from the facilities offered for the purchase of drink by the city liquor agencies, to which full reference will presently be made, and the unlimited opportunities for importation from other States, it is certain that much of the liquor consumed in the prohibition towns and cities is of very inferior quality and so compounded as to quickly produce intoxication. The evidence on this point is conclusive, and is sufficiently referred to elsewhere. (See Appendix, p. 526.)

Another fact to be noted in explanation of the prevalence of drunkenness is the effect which the prohibitory laws undoubtedly have in increasing the consumption of spirits, instead of beer, on account of their greater portability.

Lastly, while there is a general agreement among prohibitionists and non-prohibitionists alike that the enforcement of the law has been irregular and spasmodic, and determined largely by the political exigencies of the moment, there is also incontrovertible evidence that even in the times of strictest enforcement the amount of drunkenness has not been appreciably diminished. "The rum-sellers," to quote the annual report of the City Marshal of Portland for 1890, "have been driven from one form of selling to another more secret, but none the less productive of drunkenness in our streets." (See also Appendix, p. 529.)

It is not suggested, therefore, that the results shown in the succeeding tables are to be accepted as final and conclusive evidence for or against a particular system. On the contrary, they are simply put forward in response to claims that, however honestly made, are—as the following figures will show—both misleading and inexact.

In a subsequent chapter, to which reference has already been made, particulars are given of the number of prisoners for all offences in certain prohibition and non-prohibition States in two succeeding census periods.¹ Briefly summarised, the figures are as follow:²—

	No. of Prisoners per 1,000 of population.	
	1880.	1890.
Prohibition States	0·77	0·84
Non-Prohibition States	0·99	0·98

Now a comparison of the figures for the two sets of States shows that while the proportion of prisoners per thousand of the population is slightly lower in the prohibition States than in the non-prohibition States, the difference is very small; and if regard be had to the greater proportion of urban population in the non-prohibition States, it will be clear that the figures do not point to any marked superiority on the part of the prohibitory system.

It is also to be noted that the figures for Iowa,³

¹ The tables in every case have been compiled from the official census returns.

² For full details of the comparison, see Appendix, p. 531.

³ See Appendix, p. 531.

where, as has already been pointed out, a "mulct" system, which is practically a licence system, has for years been in force, are lower than those for any other prohibition State.

If, again, we classify the criminal statistics and take the official returns of convicts in penitentiaries,¹ and prisoners in county gaols, the difference between the two sets of States is again very slight.²

	CONVICTS IN PENITENTIARIES, per 1,000 of population.		PRISONERS IN COUNTY GAOLS, per 1,000 of population.	
	1880.	1890.	1880.	1890.
Prohibition States . .	0.44	0.40	0.19	0.25
Non-Prohibition States .	0.54	0.43	0.23	0.31

That the figures should so nearly approximate is certainly remarkable in view of the difference that exists in the density of population in the two divisions of States compared, for there can be no doubt (as, indeed, was admitted by the late General Neal Dow) that the statistics of crime in the prohibition States represent chiefly the offences of the towns. The average density of population in the five prohibition States is 29 persons per square mile, while in the five non-prohibition States it is 98 persons per square mile. The proportion of urban to rural population, again, in the two divisions is as follows:—

¹ The word "penitentiary" is a term employed to denote the institution corresponding to our convict prison, to which the more serious cases are sent.

² See Appendix, p. 532.

	Urban. ¹	Rural.
Prohibition States . .	16 per cent.	84 per cent.
Non-Prohibition States. 42 "	58 "	

Moreover, these figures cannot be explained away by the plea that in the prohibition States the statistics of crime are largely affected by the malpractices of the foreign element in the population.

The fact may be as stated, but, if so, it is far from helping the prohibitionist argument, inasmuch as the non-prohibition States have a much larger foreign element in their population than have the prohibition States, the average being 29 per cent. in the former as against 14 per cent. in the latter.

Nor does an analysis of the prison population of the prohibition States strengthen the force of the objection. Its effect, on the contrary, would seem to be precisely opposite.

Taking the official returns of the prison population in 1890—the latest data available—a careful analysis of the statistics of nativity shows that a very large proportion of the prisoners were native born. The figures are as follow:²—

¹ By "urban" is here meant towns and cities of 8,000 inhabitants and upwards—the limit fixed by the United States census authorities.

² The figures for the whole of the United States are as follow:—

Native White	49 per cent.
Foreign White	19 "
Negroes	29 "
Other elements	2 "

	Native White.	Foreign White.	Coloured.	Unknown.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Vermont	72	21	5	1
Iowa	70	16	7	7
New Hampshire . .	67	31	1	1
Kansas	66	16	16	1
Maine	64	30	2	4

It is evident, therefore, that the figures lend small support to the prohibitionist contention.

It is, however, sometimes suggested that the inflation of the criminal statistics in the prohibition States is largely accounted for by the fact that so many of the offences included in the returns are offences against the special liquor laws of those States, and therefore hardly to be included in any comparison of the general statistics of crime. But it becomes clear upon an appeal to the facts that, so far as the *prison* statistics are concerned—and it is to these alone that appeal is here made—the alleged explanation has little or no weight of evidence behind it, but, on the contrary, is entirely opposed to a wide range of incontrovertible facts. For, while it is true that a large proportion of the cases tried by the Superior Courts are liquor cases,¹ it is important to note that a system of

¹ Out of a total of 7,259 cases tried by the Superior Courts of Maine in five separate years, no fewer than 3,952, or 54 per cent., were for violations of the liquor laws. The same proportion applies in respect of separate counties. From a return prepared by the Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court of Penobscot County (Maine), it appears that out of a total of 2,166 cases brought before the Court in a period of thirteen years (*i.e.*, from 1881 to 1893), 1,234, or 57 per cent., were liquor cases. In this county (as elsewhere) the cases were dealt with under the Nuisance Act, and fines imposed.

finer, rather than of imprisonment, generally prevails in respect of such cases, and hence they do not materially affect the prison statistics. The evidence on this point is decisive. Speaking of the practice prevailing in the State of Maine (and elsewhere), the subcommittee of the "Committee of Fifty" write as follows:—

"Experience in various States has shown that the penalty of imprisonment prevents obtaining convictions in liquor cases. This penalty has been tried over and over again by ardent legislators, but in practice has never succeeded—at least for first offences. Fines have seemed to ordinary judges and juries sufficient penalties for liquor offences. Laws with severe penalties have often been passed, and courts have often been deprived of all choice between fine and imprisonment; but in practice such enactments have proved less effective than milder ones."¹

Indeed, so notorious was the unwillingness of juries to convict when the penalty involved imprisonment, and so general had the system of fining become, that the State legislature found it necessary early in 1893 to effect a change in the law, giving judges discretionary power to impose fines instead of imprisonment. Speaking of this change in the law in the course of his evidence before the Royal Canadian Commission in 1893, the late General Neal Dow said: "But even the judges had exercised that discretion irrespective of the law, and so last year they enacted that the judges might use their discretion."

It is clear, therefore, that so far as Maine is con-

¹ *The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects*, p. 14.

cerned, the alleged explanation by no means covers the facts.¹ Nor does it apply to even the same limited extent in the case of other prohibition States. In Iowa, for example, which is a prohibition State only in name, there was no attempt at disguise in regard to the method adopted. There, as will presently be shown, the system of fines and "levies" was openly and avowedly adopted. In Kansas, again, a similar state of things exists, and the fines are used to meet the expenses of the police department.²

So far, therefore, as the principal prohibition States are concerned, the inference would seem to be clear that imprisonments for violations of the liquor laws are far less frequent, and certainly far less general, than is sometimes alleged, and it is evident that they cannot seriously affect the force of the foregoing comparisons. When the utmost that can be urged has been allowed for, the fact remains that an appeal to the general criminal statistics by no means justifies the claims often made in behalf of the prohibitory system.

III.—*Statistics of Pauperism.*

As has been pointed out elsewhere,³ the relation of intemperance to pauperism is at present too conjectural to give the statistics of the latter more than an approximate value. Appeal to the statistics is, however, so frequent that it is impossible to avoid

¹ It is perfectly true, of course, that a number of persons are committed to prison for drunkenness, but this fact can hardly be claimed as evidence of the efficacy of prohibition.

² See pp. 196-7.

³ See Appendix, p. 458.

a comparison of the actual figures in connection with the present investigation.

In the table printed in the Appendix,¹ particulars are given of the ratio of paupers per 1,000 of the population in the prohibition and non-prohibition States already referred to. Briefly summarized, the figures are as follow :—

	Paupers in Almshouses per 1,000 of the population.	
	1880.	1890.
Prohibition States	1.23	1.07
Non-Prohibition States	1.07	0.81

It will thus be seen that the average amount of pauperism in the five prohibition States was greater than the average amount in the five non-prohibition States, both in 1880 and in 1890.

If we take the States singly, we find that in Maine—the foremost prohibition State—the ratio is higher than the ratio in four out of the five non-prohibition States, while it is more than double the average for the whole of the non-prohibition States. That important differences exist in the constitution and economic condition of different States is undoubted,²

¹ See Appendix, p. 537.

² Maine and Vermont, for example, are chiefly agricultural States, although in the former a certain proportion of the population is engaged in lumbering and similar industries. Manufacturers, it will be seen, occupy but 11 per cent. of the population of Maine. New Hampshire, again, although largely an agricultural State, has 17 per cent. of its population engaged in manufactures. Rhode Island and Connecticut, on the other hand, are manufacturing States, and contain large urban populations. For fuller information on this point the reader is referred to Appendix, p. 539.

but these are not so great as entirely to destroy the significance of the preceding figures.

If we take Maine and Vermont (prohibition) as types of the agricultural State, and Rhode Island and Connecticut (non-prohibition) as types of manufacturing States, we find that the average ratio of pauperism in the former States was 2.14 per 1,000 in 1880, and 1.69 per 1,000 in 1890; while in the latter it was 2.09 in 1880, and 1.67 in 1890.

Or to take two other States, of almost identical age so far as organization and admission into the Union are concerned, and with practically the same economic conditions prevailing, namely, Kansas (prohibition) and Nebraska (non-prohibition). The former's agricultural wealth is represented by 166,617 farms of an average size of 181 acres each, or 117 farms to every 1,000 of the population; while the agricultural wealth of the latter is represented by 113,608 farms of an average size of 190 acres each, or 108 farms to every 1,000 of the population. Each State alike has only 2 per cent. of its population engaged in manufactures. Now in the prohibition State of Kansas the ratio of pauperism was 0.36 per 1,000 in 1880, and 0.42 per 1,000 in 1890; while in the non-prohibition State of Nebraska it was 0.25 in 1880, and 0.27 in 1890.¹

It is, however, sometimes suggested that the foreign element in the population is largely responsible for the amount of pauperism, but, as we have already shown, the foreign element in the non-prohibition States is much greater than in the prohibition States.

¹ In England and Wales the ratio of pauperism is higher in the rural districts than in the manufacturing districts, and much higher than in the mining districts. See Appendix, p. 538.

Nor can it be argued that non-prohibition States are not so stringent in enforcing the idea that paupers shall be supported in almshouses as are the prohibition States. That there is a variety of practice in this respect is certain, but we have it upon the authority of the Secretary of the Portland Overseers of the Poor—himself an ardent prohibitionist, with an official experience of Poor Law work extending over a period of twenty years—that the sentiment and practice in regard to Poor Law administration are practically identical in all the North Atlantic States, which include Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.¹

Moreover, he admitted that in the city of Portland alone there were from 350 to 360 different families receiving "out relief," and therefore not included in the above returns.

The comparison of statistics for separate decennial periods must not be pressed too far, but it is at least to be noted that between 1881 and 1892 the increase in pauperism (*i.e.*, the number of those relieved) in Portland—the largest city in Maine—amounted to 37 per cent., while the increase in population during the same period was only about 9 per cent.

But apart altogether from the question of the exact value of the figures, this much at least is clear, that the argument in favour of prohibition can derive no support from the statistics of pauperism.

¹ The average for the whole of the States in the North Atlantic division was 2.34 per 1,000 in 1880, and 1.79 per 1,000 in 1890; in Maine it will be seen that the ratio was 2.32 per 1,000 in 1880, and 1.76 per 1,000 in 1890.

IV.—*Statistics of Insanity.*

If we turn to the statistics of insanity a similar result appears. The figures are given later,¹ and need only be summarized here. The following is the result of the comparison :—

	Population.	Total Number of Insane (1890).	Per 1,000 of Population.
Prohibition States . . .	4,709,030	8,072	1.71
Non-Prohibition States . .	5,546,389	9,707	1.75

It will thus be seen that the difference between the two sets of States is merely fractional (*i.e.*, 0.04 per 1,000 of the population), and too small to afford any suggestion of the value of the prohibitory system.

If we take the three oldest States in each division, the figures are as follow :—

Maine	} 2.25 per 1,000 of the population.
New Hampshire	
Vermont	
Rhode Island	} 2.06 per 1,000 of the population.
Connecticut	
Michigan	

If, further, we compare the number of feeble-minded persons (*i.e.*, idiots) who are not included in the foregoing comparison, the result is much the same; the actual figures being: Prohibition States, 1.83 per 1,000 of the population; Non-Prohibition States, 1.32.

Finally, if we combine the results of the preceding

¹ See Appendix, p. 540.

comparisons and make a general comparison of the whole of the mentally deranged (*i.e.*, insane and feeble-minded) persons in the two sets of States, the result is as follows:—

	Per 1,000 of the Population.
Prohibition States	3.55
Non-Prohibition States	3.07

V.—*Statistics of Thrift.*

The amounts deposited in savings banks in different States are frequently referred to as evidence of the benefits resulting from prohibition. The appeal is hardly a wise or exact one, inasmuch as the history and economic development of the States compared and the occupations of the people must largely influence the amount of their savings. But since appeal is frequently made to the figures for controversial purposes, it may be well to give them for two consecutive years. Statistics are not available for the whole of the States hitherto compared, and the practice in regard to savings would seem to vary greatly outside the New England States, but in the appended table particulars are given of the savings of the people in five New England States, of which three are prohibition and two non-prohibition States.

It may be well to point out that the savings banks throughout the New England States are simply co-operative associations in which the depositors are the shareholders, the entire profits of the undertakings, after payment of working expenses and State taxes, going to the depositors in the form of dividends.

Statement showing the savings deposits, number of

depositors, etc., per 1,000 of the population in various prohibition and non-prohibition States:¹—

STATE.	Population, 1890.	1894-5.		1895-6.	
		No. of depositors per 1,000 of popula- tion.	Amount of deposits per 1,000 of popula- tion.	No. of depositors per 1,000 of popula- tion.	Amount of deposits per 1,000 of popula- tion.
<i>Prohibition States—</i>			DOLLARS.		DOLLARS.
Maine . . .	661,086	235	82,498	242	85,289
Vermont. . .	332,422	286	88,646	311	96,899
New Hamp- shire . . .	376,530	435	177,517	432	168,125
	1,370,038	302	110,006	311	110,775
<i>Non-Prohibition States—</i>					
Rhode Island .	345,506	381	195,490	392	199,225
Connecticut .	746,258	452	183,550	465	191,902
	1,091,764	430	187,326	442	194,218

It is to be remembered, in comparing the above figures, that New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut are largely manufacturing States, and that farmers and agricultural workers generally have not, presumably, so much ready money to deposit as manufacturers and mechanics. At the same time, it is a little curious that Vermont, which is a poorer and more exclusively agricultural State than Maine (where 11 per cent. of the population are engaged in manufactures), has nevertheless a higher ratio of depositors and deposits.

¹ Compiled from the United States Statistical Abstract for 1896.

In view of the physical and economic differences that exist in the two sets of States the figures probably are of little value, but at least they are conclusive against the wisdom of the policy which seeks to advance the cause of prohibition by appeals to this and similar forms of evidence.

PROHIBITION IN MAINE.

It is important, however, for the full investigation of this question to supplement the foregoing general comparisons with a thorough and systematic inquiry into the actual working results of prohibition in such States as have adopted it. Considerations of space make it impossible to deal effectively with the history of the experiment in all the prohibition States within the limits of this chapter. It has therefore been deemed advisable to select the principal and pioneer prohibition State for detailed examination here, and to deal with the history of the experiment in the remaining prohibition States in a more general and incidental way. The question of the practicableness of State prohibition, it is not too much to say, virtually stands or falls upon the question of its success or failure in Maine.

The system there has been tried for upwards of fifty years, and amid conditions, legislative and other, that admittedly have been as favourable as any that can reasonably be conceived of as existing elsewhere. It is therefore important to consider carefully the results of the experiment and the measure of its success.

The agitation in favour of prohibition in Maine began early in the thirties, and with it is intimately

connected the name of General James Appleton, who was the first to outline and advocate prohibitory legislation. In 1837, as chairman of a joint committee of the legislature which reported in favour of prohibition, he said: "If we have any law on the subject, it should be absolutely prohibitory." The report was laid on the table. The effects were to follow later on.

Amongst General Appleton's most zealous co-workers was a young man, born in Portland in 1804, who has since been known to the world as the "Father of the Maine Law." General Neal Dow spent several years in canvassing the State, scattering Temperance literature, holding mass meetings, and delivering lectures. The combined efforts of the two men and their associates resulted in 1846 in the passage of the first prohibitory Act. It was a crude and unsatisfactory measure, and contained no adequate provision for the punishment of law-breakers or for the seizure of liquors illegally held for sale.

It provided that the "select men" might, at their annual meeting, license one person in every town of less than 1,000 inhabitants, two in any town having over 1,000 inhabitants, and from three to five in any town having over 3,000 inhabitants, to sell wine and strong liquors for medicinal or mechanical purposes only. All other sales were prohibited.

Not satisfied, however, with the working of the law, General¹ Neal Dow and his supporters persevered in

¹ Although here referred to as "General," it was not until 1862—in connection with the Civil War—that Mr. Neal Dow was appointed Brigadier-General.

an agitation to amend it, and a legislature pledged to prohibition was finally chosen. General Dow, now Mayor of Portland, himself drafted a bill which he believed would be effective, and which he subsequently submitted to the leaders of the Temperance movement in Portland, who declared it improbable that such a measure would be passed by the legislature.

On April 29th, 1851, two days before the adjournment of the legislature, General Neal Dow arrived in Augusta, the State capital.

"The next morning he requested the Speaker of the House to immediately appoint a committee to consider his bill, and to grant a hearing that afternoon. The request was granted both in the House and in the Senate. In the afternoon the legislature adjourned to give him a hearing. The hall was crowded. He spoke for an hour, and presented the Bill. It was rushed to the printer (who, curiously enough, was a rum-seller), and passed by a vote of 86 to 40 in the House, and by 18 to 10 in the Senate." Governor Hubbard, a Democrat, signed the Act on June 2nd, and the Bill became the famous Maine Law.

The law prohibited any one from manufacturing or selling intoxicating liquors except for medicinal and mechanical purposes. It punished selling in violation of the Act—for the first conviction, \$10; second conviction, \$20; and for a third conviction, \$20, with imprisonment for from three to six months. If the defendant prosecuted an appeal he was to give bond not to violate any of the provisions of the Act pending the appeal, and, in the event of final conviction, he

was to suffer double the punishment first awarded. The last clause was, however, declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Search warrants, seizure, and destruction of liquor found were authorized upon complaint of three inhabitants.

In 1853 the law was amended so as to elaborate the seizure and forfeiture clauses, and provisions to meet cases of destroying liquors to prevent seizure were included. The penalties under the law were also increased.

In 1855 an elaborate re-enactment of the law took place, the search, seizure, and forfeiture clauses especially being worked out in minute detail. The penalties also were again increased.

The year 1856, however, saw a revulsion of public sentiment which swept away all this legislation and substituted a licence law.

This law lasted for about two years. In 1858 the question of licence or prohibition was again submitted, with the result that the latter was once more adopted. The new prohibition law was short and moderate. The first conviction for illegal sale was made punishable by a fine of \$10, which rose to \$20 and three months' imprisonment for a third offence. Another Act of the same year declared houses for the illegal sale of liquor to be common nuisances, and made the keeper liable to a fine not exceeding \$1,000, or imprisonment for not more than one year, and made his lease void if a tenant. If the owner of the house was found to be privy to the sale or knowingly to have permitted it, he was subject to the same penalty. A State Commissioner for providing liquors authorized to be sold by the municipal liquor agents was ap-

pointed in 1862, and civil damages were awarded by the Act of 1872.

In 1884 a prohibitory amendment to the State Constitution was adopted by a majority of 46,972. The total votes polled were, however, fewer by 47,819 than the total number polled at the nearest political election.

The law of 1858 is virtually the law of to-day, although in the intervening years between forty and fifty amendments have been made with a view of adding to its stringency.¹

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAW.

The enforcement of the law is by the Act entrusted to sheriffs who are popularly elected, apparently on purely party political grounds, and who retain office for two years. They appoint their own deputies, and both sheriffs and deputies are paid \$2 per day when on duty, together with travelling allowances and fees for service of warrants, etc. In some cases warrants are served by constables or the city police, but in the cities and towns the work is almost invariably performed by the sheriffs' deputies, who are known as "liquor deputies." In Portland, and, speaking generally, elsewhere also, the mode of procedure is for the sheriff or his deputy to apply for a search warrant to the judge of the municipal court, armed with which he proceeds to make search and seizure.

Liquors seized are taken charge of by the sheriffs, who have frequently large stocks on hand. The practice under the law now is to dispose of all confis-

¹ See *Cyclopædia of Temperance and Prohibition*, pp. 305-309.

cated liquors containing less than 20 per cent. of alcohol by emptying them into the common sewer. But all liquors containing 20 per cent. of alcohol and upwards are poured into barrels, and when five barrels have been collected they are shipped, under contract, to some one outside of the State; the alcohol is extracted, and the value of it, according to contract price, is remitted to the Treasurer of the county from whence the liquor is sent. The Sheriff at Portland, when giving evidence before the Canadian Commission in 1893, estimated that the shipments by him would average about $2\frac{1}{2}$ barrels per month.

GENERAL RESULTS OF THE LAW.

In attempting to estimate the general results of prohibition in Maine it is necessary to emphasize at the outset one or two important considerations. In the first place, it is important to remember (1) that Maine is to a large extent a rural and agricultural State, possessing practically no important industries outside its lumber trade and fisheries, and with no more than 11 per cent. of its population engaged in manufactures; (2) that it is a sparsely populated State with a total population of less than 700,000 persons, of whom less than 200,000, or 30 per cent., live in towns having a population exceeding 3,500, and only 130,000, or 20 per cent., in towns of 8,000 inhabitants and upwards, while there are only two towns or cities in the State with a population of more than 20,000, of which the chief (Portland) contains less than 37,000 inhabitants. The entire State is populated at the rate of 20 persons per square

mile.¹ Moreover, 88 per cent. of its population are native born.

Secondly, it is to be regretted that the case for prohibition rests, to so large an extent, upon vague general statements unsupported, for the most part, by reliable statistical or documentary evidence. Such statements, however disinterestedly and conscientiously made, have little or no value in a judicial inquiry beyond that which attaches to the statement of personal opinions—a value which is only to be determined by a careful consideration of the qualifications for unbiased judgment which opposing witnesses possess.

Thirdly, in attempting to get at the facts, the distinction between *sale* and *consumption* must carefully be borne in mind. That the sale of liquor in the State has been very considerably reduced cannot be disputed, and it is also to be admitted that the ordinary public-house, such as exists in every English town, has entirely disappeared; but that there are still very considerable quantities of liquor consumed in the State, the sales at the various liquor agencies and the evidence of express agents and others sufficiently attest, while it is undeniable that facilities for the illicit purchase of liquor abound in all the large towns and cities. It is every way unfortunate that even approximate estimates of the consumption of liquors in Maine, both before the enactment of prohibition and since, are altogether unobtainable.

No such figures, indeed, exist. The importance of the distinction, however, in any estimate of the gene-

¹ For a comparison with England and Wales, see p. 205.

ral results of prohibition is clear, as the following statements by the late General Neal Dow—given in his evidence before the Canadian Commission in 1893—will show:—

“I believe I said in Montreal that there was not one-hundredth part as much sold in the State as before the law, and not one-twentieth part as much in the city. One would suppose that a very extravagant statement, but when I say that we had seven distilleries here running in the molasses season, day and night, and when we had at the same time great quantities of wine and India rum imported then, and when you consider that we have not a drop distilled now, and do not have a puncheon of rum imported now, you will see that we had wholesale and retail liquor shops before the law.”

“You were selling at that time liquor for exportation from the State?”—“It went into the country, but nevertheless it was sold in Portland.”

“But it was not consumed in the State?”—“No, it was spread over the country. My statement was that there is not one-hundredth part so much liquor *sold* in Portland as before the Maine Law. I did not say ‘*drank*.’”

And again:—

“Then, when you speak of the liquor sold now as compared with what was sold prior to the prohibitory law, you include what was sold by distilleries for export?”—“Yes, all that was sold, distilleries included.”

NON-ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAW.

Leaving, however, these preliminary considerations

and turning to the history of the experiment itself, the most noticeable feature of the history of prohibition in Maine is unquestionably the indifferent and intermittent way in which the law has been administered.

The Royal Canadian Commissioners, in attempting to explain the reaction of public sentiment on the question subsequent to 1886, say: "The first great reason is non-enforcement. 'Where is prohibition enforced?' has been asked repeatedly, and the conclusion any thoughtful reader must arrive at is: nowhere efficiently, and only indifferently in small scattered populations. The whole trend of the evidence only proves this much, that prohibition prohibits where no one wants intoxicating liquors, but nowhere else. Some few witnesses testify that prohibition is enforced, but the vast majority admit, in many cases with reluctance and sorrow, that it is not."

The following table ¹ epitomizes the opinions on this point of the witnesses examined before the Canadian Commission in 1893:—

STATE.	No. of Witnesses examined.	Law enforced.	Law not enforced.	Expressed no opinion.
Maine	81	16	61	4
Kansas . . .	66	6	58	2
Iowa	37	2	35	—
	184	24	154	6

The evidence of non-enforcement—as will presently

¹ Extracted from the *Report of the Royal Canadian Commission*.

appear—relates almost exclusively to the towns, but in respect of these it is hardly disputed.

In referring in 1893 to abuses connected with the administration of the law in Portland, General Neal Dow said: "You may well wonder why it is that this state of things should exist, and the reason of it is that the Republican party in power does not want to do anything more than it can possibly help to offend the rum-sellers, because they want their votes . . . so you may very well wonder why it is that ever since 1851 we have been at work trying to put down the grog shops in the State of Maine. We have succeeded to a very large extent, but we have not succeeded thoroughly. Somebody may say very properly: 'Well, in the rural districts you have done it, and why can you not do it in the city of Portland?' It is because the law, which is sufficient in its stringency to do all the work in the rural villages, is not sufficient to do it in Portland, and so we go to the legislature and endeavour to obtain such amendments to the law as will operate in Portland."

He added: "The liquor traffic can never be put down so long as there is any profit remaining in it. It is carried on for profit, and not for the fun of the thing. If I could drive you around our streets, I could show you some very fine houses owned by rum-sellers who made their money out of rum."

"Have these rum-sellers amassed this property since the prohibitory law came into force?"—"Yes."

And again: "Now, with reference to the enforcement of the law in other portions of the State. Take the city of Augusta, for instance. . . . Do you know if it is a fact that there was a wide-open bar

there during the last session of the legislature?"—"I do not know; but I should not wonder, because the politicians stay there, and the law has been very imperfectly enforced of recent years. Since Mr. Knight, the famous prohibitionist, left there, there is nobody interested in the Temperance cause who would take the trouble about it."¹

"Do you know anything about how the prohibitory law works in the city of Bangor?"—"I do not know anything good about Bangor."

"Is it a fact that the law is flagrantly violated?"—"Yes, flagrantly violated."

"It has been given in evidence before the Commissioners that the local authorities of the city of Bangor

¹ Another witness, referring to this, said: "I was very much disgusted with our last legislature in Augusta. It is a well-known fact . . . that last session, during the sitting of the legislature, the bar-rooms in Augusta were free and open, and you could get all the rum you wanted there, while both branches of the legislature were struggling over a law that was presented there, with the object of suppressing all the liquor traffic and giving the privilege to apothecaries to sell under a very restricted form. They haggled over that for four or five days, but still the members were going out of the legislative halls and going into the Augusta House, with a bar-room wide open, and getting all the rum they wanted."

"Do you think that the members of the legislature knew that they were selling liquors in the hotel?"—"Well, yes, there were many members who took drinks there."

"Did they take any proceedings to have that bar-room closed up?"—"No."

The Hon. A. D. Andrews, Judge of the Municipal Court of Augusta, a Prohibitionist and life-long total abstainer, questioned on this point, said: "I think there is more sold in this city during the sitting of the legislature than at other times, because there is a larger number of people who want it."

have set the law at defiance and completely ignored it. Is that a fact?"—"That is a fact."¹

It would be easy to multiply evidence on this point, but in view of what has already been given, the following statement by Mr. Fanshawe—supplemented by the evidence of an ex-Governor of the State of Maine—will probably suffice. Speaking of the difficulties of enforcement, Mr. Fanshawe says: "As already explained, the county sheriff is the officer on whom this duty [of enforcement] devolves, and accordingly the election of the sheriff, once every two years, is an occasion which calls up the local forces favourable to a more or to a less strict administration in each county. *It is well understood by the electors that this is the issue when they are called upon to vote for this or that candidate for the office*; and, therefore, a sheriff who exercises to the full his powers for the suppression of the drink traffic is not likely to be found in a county where the prohibition party is not both numerous and energetic."²

Dr. Garcelon, an ex-Governor of the State of Maine, in referring to the matter in his evidence before the Royal Canadian Commission on July 5th, 1893, said: "It [*i.e.*, enforcement] varies with the different political parties controlling the State, that is more especially the case at election time. All parties shut their eyes to the enforcement of the law at elections, and the saloon-keepers say: 'If this political party will promise me that I shall not be interfered with, I

¹ See *Evidence of the Royal Canadian Commission*, vol. V., p. 454.

² *Liquor Legislation in the United States and Canada*.

shall support that party.' Consequently the eyes of the officers about that time are closed."

The testimony as to the spasmodic and intermittent character of the administration of the law is practically universal among prohibitionists and non-prohibitionists alike.¹ As one of the witnesses, who described himself as "a strong prohibitionist," put it: "It is well enforced in country places. Once in a while the Temperance people become active in regard to the matter, and they enforce the law, but it requires so much effort that they soon get tired of it, and the thing goes back to the old channel, and we witness the same evil effects of rum-selling as we do to-day."²

FAILURE IN TOWNS AND CITIES.

The failure of prohibition when applied to the towns and cities of the State is, indeed, the conspicuous fact that meets one at every turn of the investigation. Moreover, it is a fact which is almost unanimously accepted.

The Canadian Commissioners, in the course of their inquiry, visited a number of the larger towns and cities (together with some of the villages) in Maine, and the results of their investigations are given in their Report to the Governor-General of Canada.

¹ In addition to the overwhelming evidence contained in the volumes of the Royal Canadian Commission the reader may be specially referred to the Report of the "Committee of Fifty," pp. 36 and 38.

² This witness was asked: "I suppose you consider that you have a measure of enforcement here (Bangor), and that if you had not this prohibitory law you would have a larger sale of liquor than you have now?" And he replied: "It would not make much difference; the gates are wide open here."

Speaking of the general results of prohibition so far as the towns and cities are concerned, they report:—

“The claim frequently advanced that the prohibitory law has closed all the breweries and distilleries in the State, and thereby largely reduced the sale of intoxicants, is doubtless literally correct. It is manifest that if the law was to be enforced at all, brewing and distilling in the State must cease, and, moreover, that the manufacture having ceased, the sale of intoxicating liquors within the State must be diminished, the sales of these establishments being included in the one period and not in the other. A large proportion of the products of the distilleries and breweries previously carrying on business was doubtless, however, sold for exportation from the State, and the closing of these establishments does not necessarily demonstrate that the actual consumption of liquor has largely diminished. It is to be regretted, in so far as the work of this Commission is concerned, that there are no statistics from which information can be gathered concerning the consumption of intoxicating liquors within the State of Maine.

“In social clubs in some of the larger centres of population the members procure their own supplies of liquors, and are provided with conveniences which secure them the individual control thereof. Clubs are formed, in some instances at least, with the sole object of enabling members to secure intoxicants for personal use, without subjecting them to the penalties of the law. What is known as ‘pocket peddling’ is common in many of the cities, which simply means that a supply of intoxicants is secured and carried about on

the person and retailed at the corners of streets, or in lanes and in alleys, to whomsoever may be willing to purchase. The evidence collected by the Commission all tends to show that the liquor sold in this way is of the very worst description.

“In small communities, or what may be called villages and townships, the prohibitory law is unquestionably more effective in preventing the distribution of intoxicants. It is natural that such should be the case, for where the inhabitants are all known to each other, and the business of each is known to his neighbour, the carrying on of an illicit trade is obviously rendered difficult, especially if public sentiment is in favour of the law; but, nevertheless, it would probably be a very difficult matter to find any village with more than one thousand inhabitants where intoxicants could not be purchased by those who were bent on obtaining them.

“At Augusta, the capital of the State, there is very little attempt made to conceal the fact that liquor is sold, and some of the Commissioners had pointed out to them several places where it could be obtained. They also were informed that during the session of the legislature, which took place in the early part of the year, there were practically open bars at one or more of the leading hotels. A liquor agency was established in that city in 1893. The receipts from 15th May to 9th December, 1893, were \$4,475. At Bangor there is an open sale of liquor, and the prohibitory law is not enforced. The city government cannot, of course, make bye-laws regulating the sale, as it is prohibited by the State law, but the authorities act upon an unwritten regulation, which is to the effect

that if the vendors keep orderly places, close at ten o'clock at night, do not open before six o'clock in the morning, and keep their places closed on Sunday, the police authorities will not meddle with them. . . .

"The city of Lewiston was next visited, the population of which is about 22,000. There was a large influx of visitors on the day of the Commissioners' arrival, and the inhabitants were keeping holiday. There was some drunkenness seen in the street, and the evidence gathered by the Commission shows that only a limited restriction is placed upon the sale of liquor in that city.

"In Auburn, a city on the other side of the Androscoggin River, with a population of 11,000 inhabitants, the law is said to be more strictly enforced.

"The distance between the city and Lewiston is short, and so long as liquor is plentiful in the latter, the people of Auburn will experience no difficulty in getting a supply. There is a large French population in both of these cities. In Lewiston the cotton manufacture is carried on extensively, and Auburn produces large quantities of boots and shoes.

"From Lewiston the Commissioners went to Biddeford, a city with a population of 15,000 inhabitants. Here also are extensive cotton mills. On the occasion of the Commissioners' visit the regularly elected Marshal of the city had been superseded by a Marshal appointed by the Governor and Council of the State. Public feeling on the subject of the liquor traffic evidently runs high in this city. A perusal of the evidence taken will show that there is a comparatively free sale."¹

¹ *Report of the Royal Canadian Commission*, pp. 329-333.

The foregoing statements are so complete that further evidence on the point is hardly necessary. A few additional extracts may, however, be given to indicate the attitude of responsible witnesses in the principal cities of the State.

The Hon. C. F. Libby—ex-President of the State Senate, and a former Mayor of Portland, who during his mayoralty incurred great odium for the stringency with which he attempted to enforce the law—when questioned on the point, said:—

“I have no expectation that in the cities this prohibitory law will ever be a success. . . . The next largest city to our own is the city of Bangor. In the city of Bangor, with all the machinery of the State for years trying to enforce it, the prohibitory law is set at open defiance, and there are saloons open there the same as in an option city. . . . The traffic has been carried on there openly, and the sheriff has been elected on that issue. They had one sheriff who attempted to enforce the law, but he found that public sentiment was so strong against it that he abandoned the idea. . . . If they find a man keeping a saloon open after ten o'clock at night, they do not hesitate to bring him right before the courts, or if he makes a nuisance of his place or is promoting drunkenness apparently, I have no doubt that they would take notice of it to a certain extent. But there is the fact, the community of Bangor is as intelligent as any we have in the State, but it has practically set at defiance the law. They have undertaken to deal with the question themselves, and they have set the whole legislature at defiance.”

The City Marshal of Portland, who declared that he had "always been opposed to licence," gave the following opinion :—

"I believe that in the rural districts the law prohibits, but in the larger cities, like Portland, Bangor, and Biddeford, the sale of liquor is carried on regularly."

Finally, the evidence of the Hon. A. D. Andrews, Judge of the Municipal Court of Augusta, and a prohibitionist, may be quoted as embodying the opinion of a sympathetic legal expert. Asked if he was satisfied with the operation of the law, he said :—

"I am satisfied that it has not been a success to a great extent. In the country towns I believe the law has been a success. In the cities it has not been a success, because I do not think public opinion has demanded it, and the legislature will not enact laws so that it can be made successful."

"Then the cities are practically coerced by the rural districts?" — "I think the cities reflect the public sentiment of the citizens."

There is also widespread agreement among witnesses of all shades of Temperance opinion that an invariable result of any attempt rigidly to enforce the law is an instant increase in the number of low drinking-bars, "dives," etc., as well as in the amount of "boot legging" and "pocket peddling," two well-known and utterly vicious and degraded forms of selling, which are the bane of the towns and cities of the prohibition States.

But the most convincing proof of the failure of pro-

hibition in the towns and cities is probably summed up in the fact that, after fifty years of practical experiment, the question whether the law is to be enforced or not is still a prominent—in some cases the dominant—issue in municipal elections in the principal cities in Maine.¹

INEFFICIENCY OF THE LAW: GENERAL EVIDENCE.

I.—SEIZURES OF LIQUOR.

IF further evidence of the failure of prohibition in the towns and cities were required, it could certainly be found in the record of seizures by the police of liquor intended for illicit sale. As has already been

¹ As far back as 1874 the failure of the prohibitory system *in the towns and cities* had become apparent. In a report to the Foreign Office, published in July of that year, the British Consul at Portland, Maine, wrote: "A long residence of nearly fourteen years in this State has given me unusual opportunities for studying this question, and I have no hesitation in re-affirming that, with the exception of some isolated villages, the Maine Prohibition Law has been a failure in the larger towns and cities." It is noteworthy that in the most recent Consular report, issued nearly twenty-five years later, a similar verdict is given. Writing in September, 1898, Mr. Vice-Consul Keating says: "It is universally admitted that the Maine Liquor Law is certainly not enforced in the cities, but I think it may safely be said that throughout the rural districts the law has had a wonderfully good effect, and whenever the mass of the inhabitants desire its enforcement, the law is on the statutes to support them."—*Foreign Office Report (Miscellaneous Series)*, No. 480, 1898.

pointed out,¹ the law compels a judge to issue a search warrant on the application of a sheriff or his deputy, who, in addition to their ordinary salary of \$2 a day and travelling expenses, receive certain fees for the service of the warrants.

The fact that the magistrates, or judges, are deprived of discretion in the matter has led to a wholesale system of "dummy warrants," *i.e.*, warrants taken out and returned with absurdly small quantities of liquor, or returned without any seizure having been made. "To save trouble, an officer may thus swear out half a dozen warrants at once, put them in his coat pocket, and serve them only when he feels like it." But although there is evidence here, as in other directions, of spasmodic administration, the fact remains that at times very considerable quantities of liquor are seized. A return, prepared by the Recorder of the Municipal Court of Portland, shows the number of warrants issued each year between 1888 and 1892, with the number of cases in which liquor was found. The figures are as follow :—

Year.	Warrants Issued.	Seizures Made.
1888	2,887	961
1889	2,856	839
1890	3,637	978
1891	3,979	1,562
1892	10,863	1,082
<hr/>		<hr/>
Totals	24,222	5,422

It is further stated that in 1893 there was one seizure in Portland to every twenty-two inhabitants.

The evil, moreover, is by no means confined to

¹ See p. 153.

Portland, but, as will be seen by the evidence given elsewhere,¹ is a fact of ordinary police experience in all the larger towns and cities of the State.

II.—DRUG STORES.

One of the most important and systematic of the organized evasions of the law is that represented by the sales of liquor at the so-called "drug-stores."²

Referring to these in his report to the "Committee of Fifty," Mr. John Koren says: "The drug-stores have ever been a fruitful source of drunkenness in Portland. There are no less than forty-five of these shops in the city, or one to about eight hundred inhabitants. This fact alone would suffice to show that all of them could not possibly subsist were their trade exclusively in apothecary's wares. Indeed, from their very situation it is evident that they do not exist for the purpose of supplying drugs. Thus, at the upper end of Congress Street, away from the most populous part of the city, three drug-stores are in close proximity to one another. On Middle Street, in a neighbourhood equally unpropitious for the druggist's trade, they are remarkably numerous. Within a radius of a quarter of a mile or a trifle more from Monument Square, which may be designated as the heart of the city, one finds about thirty drug-stores. Others, again, are found in the most impossible places for legitimate business. To place all the drug-stores in Portland in the same category would, of course, be most unfair. Yet the fact remains that all but

¹ See Appendix, pp. 548-50.

² See Appendix, pp. 550-3.

two, or at most three, when this investigation was made, had paid the United States special tax, which is *prima-facie* evidence of violation of the liquor laws.¹ But this does not necessarily mean that all having paid United States special taxes sell liquor for tippling purposes. So far as the wholesale druggists are concerned, the writer has it on the authority of one engaged in the business that a wholesale druggist who should refuse to fill orders for liquor from village druggists and physicians would be unable to retain his trade. Of the druggists doing a retail business only, some doubtless sell liquor only for medicinal purposes, but this also is a violation of the law. It is a conservative statement to say that about twenty drug-stores in Portland exist simply for the purpose of selling liquor.”²

That this is not an overdrawn statement is apparent from the evidence taken by the Royal Canadian Commissioners in 1893, which is fully discussed elsewhere.³ That evidence also shows that the evasion of the law is far from being sporadic and local, but is characteristic of all the principal towns and cities of the State.

Nor is the practice restricted to Maine. The evidence is clear that a similar condition of things exists in other prohibition States. The Canadian Commissioners, referring to their visit to Des Moines, Iowa, the largest city in any of the prohibition States (population 50,093) report:—

¹ See Appendix, p. 542.

² *The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects*, pp. 43-4.

³ See Appendix, pp. 544-7.

“Upon fences in several places was noticed a placard which read as follows: ‘The best whisky in America, distilled, aged, and bottled at the Mount Vernon Distillery; guaranteed strictly pure; fully matured before bottling.’ In the centre of the placard was the picture of a bottle bearing a label containing these words: ‘In square bottles only; for sale by all retail druggists; wholesale only by C. H. Ward.’ On the evening of the same day, through the kindness of Messrs. Stevens, proprietors, and A. Moore, city editor, of the *Des Moines Leader*, one of the Commissioners was afforded an opportunity of seeing something of the system or systems in practice in Des Moines. Four or five drug-stores, quite close together, and all near the post-office, were visited. The front part had usually much the appearance of an ordinary drug-store, there being in the window large jars with coloured liquors in them, while the counters were covered with show-cases, in which were cigar boxes. At the rear was a large wooden screen—in some or all cases labelled ‘dispensary’—behind which was found a room in which more or less liquor was stored—gin, whisky, and beer being seen. Here were men drinking from glasses, being served at the counter from bottles, some of which were labelled ‘Lager beer,’ and others labelled ‘Whisky,’ and there were no medical certificates or affidavits asked for. Two of these drug-stores had an entrance from the rear into the rotunda of one of the principal hotels in the city, and in both of these intoxicating liquors were seen to be sold and drunk.”¹

¹ *Report of the Royal (Canadian) Commission*, p. 296.

III.—IMPORTATIONS.

As has already been pointed out,¹ under the Federal law no prohibition State can prevent an inter-State railway or express company from carrying to any point within its borders liquor brought from another State. Shipments of liquor from Boston to Portland, for instance, are held to be valid shipments by the Courts; and if the shippers use careful disguises, the goods may escape detection by the police officers of Portland (or any other town or city), and be delivered to citizens of that town. Once delivered, they may be surreptitiously sold or given away, and have more or less potent effect in neutralizing the prohibitory law. In the case of packages intended for legitimate private consumption no disguise is needed, nor can such packages even when seized by the police be confiscated if appeal for restitution be made to the Courts by the consignee.

In Maine the difficulty of the situation is aggravated by the fact that owing to its navigable rivers and coast line many of the principal towns and cities are accessible by water as well as by rail.

The system was fully described by Mr. W. H. Greene, an express proprietor in Portland, who had been engaged in the business of transport for thirty-four years, and to whose evidence the reader is referred.²

Various devices are adopted to avoid detection, but, among the most familiar, is that of arranging for the packages containing liquor to be addressed to respect-

¹ See p. 121.

² Appendix, pp. 553-6.

able citizens, and then to have them intercepted at the railway station by the rightful consignee. The Sheriff of Cumberland County (Portland) stated that he had known that to be done repeatedly during his term of office, while Colonel Dow stated in his evidence that when he was appointed Collector of Customs in 1883 he noticed some cases, containing liquor, that were addressed to his father (General Neal Dow), and on inquiry "learned that there was a liquor dealer in Portland that had all his consignments marked that way."

Moreover, there is much evidence to show that the effect of a rigorous enforcement of the prohibitory law is to increase the number of importations. Mr. Greene, the Portland Express proprietor already referred to, was explicit in his statement on this point, while strong confirmatory evidence was given by other responsible witnesses. The Hon. A. D. Andrews, Judge of the Municipal Court of Augusta, and a prohibitionist, stated: "I do not think there is so much liquor sold when it (*i.e.*, the prohibitory law) is not observed, or so much liquor drunk as there is when the law is enforced, because at the time when the City Marshal, in 1891, said he would stop liquor selling, drunkenness seemed to increase. . . . You see the point I make; namely, that the enforcement of the law in every case I have known has increased drunkenness."

It may very properly be urged that such evasions of the law are the result of the geographical and administrative limitations which determine the sphere of its possible application, and that they could be prevented under a scheme of National, as distinct from State,

prohibition. To this it is probably sufficient to reply that few persons in the United States believe such a scheme to be practicable.

THE LIQUOR AGENCY.

But apart altogether from the violations of the law already referred to, it remains to be shown that, even under the recognised and deliberate provisions of the law, facilities abound in all the large towns and cities for obtaining practically unlimited supplies of liquor.

The prohibitory law, for example, provides for the establishment of a State Liquor Agency, under the charge of a Commissioner appointed by the Governor in Council, for supplying pure liquor for "medicinal, mechanical, and manufacturing purposes" to officially established sub-agencies in the towns and cities of the State. The arrangement is generally regarded as a necessary one even among advanced prohibitionists, and probably some such provision is indispensable under any prohibitory *régime*, but the actual results of the system are so peculiar, and the abuses connected with it so great, that it may be well to examine the system in detail.

(a) *The State Commissioner.*

The State Commissioner, it has been well said, holds a peculiar position in a prohibitive community. He is appointed for a period of four years, and the office, which is conferred for purely party political services, is generally regarded as one of the greatest "plums" in the State. It is said to be worth \$8,000 to \$10,000, although by those connected with the liquor trade its

real value is said to be even higher than this.¹ As a part of the political "machine," however, the office entails an obligation to subscribe liberally to the election funds of the party.

The State Commissioner has a complete monopoly of the supply so far as the sub-agencies are concerned, and all liquors sold by the town-agents must be ordered through him. Formerly the practice was for the State Commissioner to keep (at his own risk) a constant stock of liquors on hand and to supply the sub-agencies direct from his own stores, and that arrangement was undoubtedly the intention of the law; but the risk and losses connected with the system, owing to constant changes in the administration, led to another system being adopted under which the Commissioner contracts with certain firms outside the State (selected by himself) for the supply of all the liquors required. That the system is open to much abuse and has been a fruitful source of corruption there can be little doubt.

Some idea of the magnitude of the business done by the State Commissioner can be gathered from the tables which are given in a later chapter, from which it will be seen that the total value of the sales in 1893 amounted to no less than \$130,812 (£26,160). It will also be seen that about one-third of an English gallon of whisky and rum per head of the population in Portland was furnished by the State Agent in the same year ²—a quantity equal to one-third of the *per capita* consumption of spirits in the United Kingdom.

It is to be remembered that this estimate takes no

¹ See *The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects*, p. 91.

² See Appendix, p. 558.

account of the amount of spirits purchased in other ways—*i.e.*, at the drug-stores or by direct importation.

(b) *The City Liquor Agencies.*

But it is when we turn to the records of the sub-agencies in the towns and cities of the State that the gravest abuses connected with the system assert themselves.

The Portland agency (which is situated at the corner of two important thoroughfares, near the city hall) may be taken as an illustration. In Portland, as elsewhere, the city agent is really a political agent appointed by the mayor and aldermen, and holding office, as a general rule, for one year only. His salary (\$1,300) is paid by the city. The agency is supervised by a committee of three members of the board of aldermen, for whom the director of the agency nominally acts as manager. A building is provided, and a rental of \$500 a year is charged against the agent, who pays that amount into the city treasury as rent. The equipment of the establishment belongs to the city, and all expenditure connected with the office is charged against the profits from the sales.

That the arrangements for supervision are inadequate is clear, and there can be no question that a policy of systematic fraud on the part of an unscrupulous agent is comparatively easy.

The prices to be charged are fixed by the agent under the general supervision of the committee, but in practice the agent would often seem to be left a very free hand in the matter. It is the undoubted intention of the law that the liquors sold should be

pure, and retailed at a cost sufficient to cover working expenses only; but if one is to judge by the actual profits made, the intention of the law is more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

Thus, the City Marshal of Portland, who had formerly held the office of liquor agent for two years, while claiming that he had sold pure liquors at low cost, nevertheless admitted that he had made 25 per cent. profit on sales.

The Mayor of Portland, when asked if the liquors were sold at a low price, said: "Well, that is the idea or understanding, but I think from what I have seen that it is not sold at a very low price. I think there is an extremely large profit on it somewhere."

But whatever may or may not be the understanding, the fact remains that considerable profits have at times been made which have gone to swell the municipal funds, or been devoted to local purposes that otherwise would have been chargeable to the municipal treasury. In connection with this point the Mayor of the city was asked:—

"Did the liquor agent pay anything into the city last year (*i.e.*, 1892-3)?"

And he replied:—

"Yes, I believe that the profits from the liquor agency last year were \$14,286.30. That money has been expended in matters connected with the city. The Democratic aldermen last year contended that it was a good thing for the city of Portland to sell a large quantity of liquor, because with the profits of that they had erected the deer paddock in the park and had paid for the new quarantine station; they

had paid for the school, and they had paid for the police telephone system and an item of \$659 for evening schools out of the profit from the liquor agency. Instead of that \$14,000 being turned into the treasury and not assigned to any particular thing, it was used for these purposes which I have indicated, and which amount practically to the same thing, I suppose."

The Chairman of the Committee controlling the agency gave important confirmatory evidence on this point:—

"Last year we understand there was quite a large surplus of receipts over the expenditure of the agency for the year?"—"Yes."

"What was done with the money?"—"That money was turned over to the city treasurer, and we vote it for any purpose we wish."

"It goes to aid in the reduction of taxes by meeting expenditure for municipal purposes?"—"Yes."

The question of the right disposition of profits so earned is undoubtedly a difficult one to solve, but it is to be regretted that instead of applying them to agencies that directly combat intemperance, the municipal authorities of Portland should apply them, as in Sweden, to the direct relief of the ratepayers.

Moreover, that the intention of the law is grossly violated by careless methods of sale is unquestionable.

The law provides that the liquor shall be sold for "medicinal, mechanical, and manufacturing purposes" only, but as a matter of fact the agents have complete discretion in the matter, and sell in the loosest possible manner.

The testimony of Mr. John Koren, the special Commissioner of the "Committee of Fifty," on this point is so important that we quote it at length :—

"On the occasion of the writer's first visit to the Portland liquor agency, he was greeted with these words by one of the attendants: 'This is nothing but a legalized rum-shop—that's all.' . . . 'Of course,' the informant went on, 'there are some we don't sell to, and won't sell to (for instance, intoxicated persons and habitual drunkards); but if a respectable person comes in, we don't ask questions.' An instance was given of a well-known citizen who had just laid in supplies for a month—not for medicinal purposes, as he expressly stated. The volume of trade at the agency depends upon the extent to which the law is enforced, and thus may be regarded as a barometer indicating 'wet' and 'dry' times in the city. On this point one of the attendants remarked: 'Trade is not very lively now that the bars run openly.' The agency is open from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m., and again from 1.30 to 6 p.m. on week-days. A full line of goods is carried, from alcohol to champagne. . . . The principal liquors ordered from the State commissioner are whisky and rum. Neither article is used for mechanical purposes, and the latter is certainly not generally ordered as medicine or used in compounding prescriptions. The ease with which liquor may be obtained at the agency operates in the nature of a temptation for those who want liquor and yet would not patronize the law-breaking vendors."

The foregoing statement is amply borne out by the evidence taken by the Canadian Commissioners.

Thus, the City Marshal of Portland, a former liquor agent, stated that, in his opinion, half the sales conducted at the agency were for beverage purposes.

His successor, the then agent, was asked :—

“Have you any limit beyond which you do not go?”—“No. We can sell a man a whole barrel at the agency if he wants it for medicine. I don’t know that it should be done, or that it would be done; but there is nothing in the statute against it that I know of.”

And again :—

“Do you sell any beer at the agency?”—“We sell lager beer in bottles, and Bass’s beer and Guinness’s stout.”

“Do you sell a large quantity of it?”—“Half a dozen or a dozen bottles at a time.”

“Do you sell beer to a large number of persons?”—“Quite a number. There is quite a demand for Bass’s ale and porter.”

“That is for the benefit of somebody’s health, I suppose?”—“Yes.”

The Rev. G. T. Pierson, President of the Temperance Reform Organization, and a strong prohibitionist, gave even more damaging evidence. In the course of examination, he said :—

“I will sell \$10,000 worth of liquor in that city agency, and it will be all that will be required for mechanical and medicinal purposes.”

“You think that \$10,000 would be sufficient to supply all the liquor needed for mechanical and medicinal purposes in the city? There were \$70,000 worth sold at the agency last year, and surely it must have

been sold for beverage purposes, and not according to law?"—"No, it was sold to make voters."

Further:—

"Is it your opinion that liquor is being freely sold at the agency now for other than medicinal and mechanical purposes?"—"I think it is. I asked one of our leading physicians: 'How much liquor do you think would be necessary for the city of Portland to supply abundantly for medicinal purposes for a year?' I asked that of our oldest and most trustworthy physician, Dr. B. B. Foster. He said: 'Mr. Pierson, ten gallons will supply every case of absolute necessity, from a medicinal standpoint.'"

The Judge of the Municipal Court stated that, in his opinion, one-third of the cases of drunkenness coming before him were attributable to the sales at the city agency, and he added:—

"My private office is on the same street as the agency, and for the last two years I have noticed two or three fellows come together and put their hands in their pockets and chip up into the hands of one of them. He goes out of sight, and in a short time afterwards he will come back with a bottle, and if there is no one around they will stop in the street and go into a doorway and take their medicine. There is an empty bottle thrown away after that, and they will go along."¹

¹ The following evidence was given by the President of the Portland Savings Bank:—

"I have been into the agency several times when I wanted alcohol for mechanical purposes. . . . I recollect going there two or three years ago for something similar, and the agent

The evidence, indeed, is overwhelming that while the requirements of the law governing sales have at all times been more or less disregarded, the evasions have often assumed most scandalous proportions. It is, moreover, universally admitted that the sales at the agency rise or fall according to the measure of stringency with which the general prohibitory law is enforced. In times of lax enforcement the sales at the agency invariably decline, while in times of rigorous enforcement they as invariably increase.¹

In a later chapter² will be found a table which gives a list of the total sales at the Portland liquor agency in each year since 1870. From this it will be seen that, while there was an enormous increase in the sales between 1891 and 1893, the average annual sales for the eight preceding years amounted to over \$23,000.

Taking the whole of the ten years from 1883-4 to 1892-3, the average annual sales amounted to nearly \$33,000. The population of the city was 33,810 in 1880, and 36,425 in 1890.

PLEAS OF PROHIBITIONISTS.

If we turn from an examination of the working said to me: 'You gentlemen all buy your wines in New York and Boston.' I said: 'Of course we do.' He said: 'It is entirely unnecessary. Why do you not come here?' I said: 'Well, we do not care to put our names down here, and, besides, we do not know anything about your wines.' He said: 'Come in any day, and I will give you samples; but do not come on Saturday, because it is a very busy day.'—*Evidence of the Royal Canadian Commission*, vol. V., pp. 485-6.

¹ See the statements of General Neal Dow on this point. *Evidence of Royal Canadian Commission*, vol. V., p. 454.

² See Appendix, p. 559.

results of the system to a consideration of the pleas put forward by prohibitionists themselves in explanation of those results, it cannot be said that the case for prohibition is materially strengthened. The apology, as a rule, follows two main lines of reasoning.

In the first place, it is argued that, while the results of the system are not entirely satisfactory, it has, nevertheless, achieved a considerable measure of success, and that its partial failure is to be entirely attributed to the absence of a consistent and rigorous enforcement of the law. Sir Wilfrid Lawson, for example, speaking at the National Prohibition Convention at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1897, declared that "Prohibition had succeeded wherever it had been fairly tried; wherever the people had sense enough to enforce it and see it was carried out"; while some time previously, speaking at Penrith, he said: "Prohibition, wherever it has been carried out by the will of the people, and enforced properly, has been a great and glorious success."

A statement so qualified and limited need not be seriously disputed. But the point to note is that *in the towns and cities* prohibition never has been "carried out by the will of the people, and enforced properly." Enforcement in this sense has been confined to the rural districts. A system so limited obviously does not carry us far.

It may be doubted if those who urge this line of argument quite understand what is implied in the fact that the law is *not* generally enforced, and that the failure is always in the towns and cities.

It is to be remembered that the experiment of prohibition, so far as Maine, at least, is concerned, has been

attempted under conditions which have been quite exceptionally favourable. In the first place, the temperance sentiment of the community, prior to the enactment of the law, was unusually strong and widespread; and, secondly, the law has been almost continuously in force for more than fifty years, and has had throughout the advantage of exceptional administrative arrangements, and the support of a legislature more than usually susceptible to the pressure of Temperance opinion. If, therefore, in the face of these advantages, the law, so far as the towns and cities are concerned, has been imperfectly enforced, the explanation can only lie in the fact that popular sentiment, although said to be in favour of the law, is actively opposed to its enforcement.

Against this it is, of course, urged that, whenever the question has been submitted to a popular vote, the decision has been overwhelmingly in favour of the law, and that this was notably the case in 1884, when the Prohibition Amendment to the Constitution was carried by a majority of nearly 47,000 votes out of a total poll of 94,594 votes.¹ The plea at first sight is a strong one, but the figures are, nevertheless, far from convincing. Apart, for instance, from the fact that the total number of the votes cast in favour of the amendment was less than one-half of the *political* vote cast at the same election,² it is unquestionable that

¹ The actual figures were as follow :—

For the Amendment	70,783
Against the Amendment	23,811

Majority "For" . . . 46,972

² General Neal Dow, *Evidence of the Canadian Commission*, vol. V. p. 475.

the vote in favour of prohibition has always been largely governed by party political exigencies—the question of prohibition having, from stress of political circumstances, become a mere “football” in the strife of evenly balanced parties.¹ As the Hon. A. D. Andrews, Judge of the Municipal Court of Augusta, and himself a prohibitionist, said: “Our prohibitory law is run on politics. In some counties you will find the violators of the law against every prosecutor of the law, and in other counties you will find the violators of the law always voting for the prosecutor of the law.’

Mr. E. L. Fanshawe, writing on this point, says:—

“In attempting to ascertain the working of the Maine Liquor Law, one point which it is necessary to take into account is its relation to politics. The law itself is a matter of State politics; its enforcement is a matter of local politics. The prohibition party, though comparatively small, is extremely active, and wields an influence disproportionate to its numerical strength, inasmuch as the great political parties are equally enough divided to render the support of the prohibitionists a matter of great importance to the maintenance of the existing Republican majority. Thus the prohibition movement has received much support from motives of political expediency, but I was assured that a large number of Republicans are in their own mind strongly opposed to it. The party managers, however, tell them that in the interest of the party they must vote for it, and they vote accordingly. Prohibition is favoured by some who are not total

¹ See Appendix, p. 565.

abstainers, but who are influenced by a sense of the social evils resulting from the retail liquor trade. The farmers, however, are the backbone of the movement."

That there is a real and sharply drawn distinction in the popular mind between the law and its enforcement cannot be doubted. The evidence on the point taken by the Royal Canadian Commissioners is convincing, and it is impossible, in the face of it, to regard the votes recorded in favour of prohibition as an accurate representation of public opinion on the question. That the vote of 1884 did represent a large body of honest conviction, especially in the rural districts, is unquestionable; but it is equally unquestionable that in the larger towns and cities of the State the support accorded to the proposal was more nominal than sincere, and actuated to a very considerable extent by motives of political expediency.

Finally, it is clear that, apart altogether from the political complexion of the vote taken in 1884, public sentiment in the towns and cities of the State is too evenly divided on the question to make adequate enforcement of the law possible. Thus in Portland, to take a single instance, 5,035 persons, forming 68 per cent. of the registered voters of the city, voted in 1884 on the issue of the Prohibitory Amendment to the Constitution. Of these, 2,948, representing 40 per cent. of the registered voters of the city, voted in favour of the amendment, and 2,087 voted against it.¹ A majority of

¹ In Bangor, where the law has been flagrantly disregarded, only 37 per cent. of the registered voters of the city voted in support of the amendment, despite the fact that the nominal majority in favour of the amendment was 572.

861 considered by itself, and apart from the question of abstentions, is undoubtedly a satisfactory one, and under ordinary circumstances, and with an ordinary issue, would certainly prove effective. But in this case the issue is by no means an ordinary one. On the contrary, it is one where reform is admittedly hedged about by exceptional and serious difficulties, involving, in addition to the ordinary prejudices and predispositions which all reforms encounter, certain unreasoning considerations of personal liberty, and, above all, deep-rooted habits of personal indulgence and sordid motives of gain. An attempt to surmount and conquer these must, in the nature of things, to be successful, be not only largely but overwhelmingly supported by public opinion, and this, as the preceding figures and evidence show, is certainly not the case either in Portland or in any other of the large towns in Maine.¹ It is, therefore, hardly matter for wonder that the administration of the law has been intermittent and defective, and that every attempt at rigorous enforcement has ended in speedy failure.

¹ The following figures, which have been furnished to the present writers by the Secretary of the Executive Department of the State of Maine, give particulars of the vote on the Constitutional Amendment in 1884 in the six largest "cities" in Maine:—

City.	Population, 1890.	For.	Against.
Portland	36,425 . .	2,948 . .	2,087
Lewiston	21,701 . .	1,120 . .	1,485
Bangor.	19,103 . .	1,718 . .	1,146
Biddeford. . . .	14,443 . .	961 . .	904
Auburn	11,250 . .	1,225 . .	264
Augusta	10,527 . .	926 . .	534

THE EFFECT OF PRIVATE PROFIT.

This result, indeed, was to be expected, and it can surprise only those who forget that the inevitable effect of applying a prohibitory policy to a community that is only partially converted to abstinence must be to range the disaffected minority on the side of the dealer who illicitly plies his trade. "The liquor traffic"—to quote the words of Dr. M'Leod, the representative of the Dominion Temperance Organizations on the Royal Canadian Commission—"as has been shown, is especially lawless and law defying," and "in carrying out such laws there is also the hindrance that all the parties cognizant of the offences are likely to be hostile to the law against which the offence is committed." It is upon this double rock of popular hostility and lust of gain that the prohibition movement has invariably split. From first to last the officers appointed to enforce the law (where they have not themselves been in the pay of the liquor dealers) have found themselves in conflict with not only a considerable body of hostile opinion, but also a greed for gain that was prepared to run any risk, either of fine or imprisonment, for the sake of the profits associated with the traffic.

The fact is not a new one, but it may be questioned if its full importance has yet been realized. In a report on "Liquor Traffic Legislation in the United States," drawn up by the Secretary of the British Legation at Washington, and published by the British Foreign Office in 1888, it is declared to be "still impossible to suppress entirely the liquor traffic in the larger towns [of Maine]; the penalties for keeping

liquor for sale, and for other offences against the law, being *insufficient to prevent the traffic being carried on with profit*. . . . Men will obtain drink when they have an appetite for it, and as long as that appetite exists—and exist it will until the world has reached a far higher state of education than that of the present time—people will be found to supply them with drink, no matter what risks they may run of punishment for violation of the law; the greater the risk the greater will be the profit they will look for from their illegal traffic, which is, moreover, carried on with a greater amount of adulteration than under all other systems . . . *the profits are so large that liquor is sold in every hole and corner where it is impossible to detect it, nor can evidence be got to convict the law-breakers even when discovered.*"¹ The matter was summed up even more tersely and pointedly by the late General Dow in words that have already been quoted: "*The liquor traffic,*" he said, "*can never be put down so long as there is any profit remaining in it. It is carried on for profit, and not for the fun of the thing.*"²

It may, of course, be pleaded that in England there is greater respect for law than is commonly found in the cities of the United States, and, therefore, less likelihood of systematic evasion such as has here been described. But it is important to point out that the evasion of law has taken place, not in Chicago or New York, but in the small and orderly cities of a quiet New England State where the ideal of law is probably as high as in the United Kingdom.

¹ *Foreign Office Report (Miscellaneous Series)*, No. 78, 1888.

² *Evidence of the Royal Canadian Commission*, vol. V., p. 453.

THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL MENACE.

Further, it is clear that so far from eliminating the corrupting influence of the liquor trade from municipal and State affairs, the attempts to enforce prohibition in the larger towns and cities have simply intensified the social and political menace.

(a) *Police Corruption.*

A flagrant illustration of this fact is afforded by the successful attempts which the liquor trade has made to corrupt the police administration in the towns. The matter is so fully discussed elsewhere¹ that it need only be briefly referred to at this point. The County Attorney for Penobscot County (Maine), referring to the matter in the course of his evidence before the Canadian Commission in 1893, said: "If you ask about the special officers appointed for the purpose of enforcing the liquor law, I may say that there is a difficulty in regard to these officers. It is extremely difficult to get men of character enough to take that position, and it is an office that requires men of undoubted character, men who have something at stake, or are of some character, and that class of men you cannot get. The consequence is that they are obliged to appoint a class of men whom they suppose to be able to stand up against temptation; but the experience has been that most of them have been overborne. They have been taken into the liquor interest; they could be bought, and are bought, and that is the experience of the special officers."

¹ See Appendix, p. 560.

The evidence concerning Lewiston (a town of about 22,000 inhabitants, and the second largest in Maine) is equally definite and serious. In an address, delivered to the City Council in 1892, and published in the official report of the city for that year, the then mayor (the Hon. W. H. Newell), referring to the notorious maladministration of the prohibition law, said: "The law does not mean that a warrant shall be taken out of court by an officer, and that before searching the place described a trusty messenger shall call upon the owner and notify him that the officers are about to come. It is a matter of common knowledge that this method is pursued. For ten years there has not been a man engaged in the business against whom there was not the strongest kind of suspicion that he was taking bribes from the liquor sellers."

The "Committee of Fifty," in their review of the evidence gathered by their Commissioners in two of the principal prohibition States (viz., Maine and Iowa), sum up the evidence on this point as follows: "The liquor traffic, being very profitable, has been able, when attacked by prohibitory legislation, to pay fines, bribes, hush-money, and assessments for political purposes to large amounts. This money has tended to corrupt the lower courts, the police administration, political organizations, and even the electorate itself. Wherever the voting force of the liquor traffic and its allies is considerable, candidates for office and office-holders are tempted to serve a dangerous trade interest, which is often in antagonism to the public interest. Frequent yielding to this temptation causes general degeneration in public

life, breeds contempt for the public service, and, of course, makes the service less desirable for upright men."

It may, of course, be said that there is less risk of similar corruption in our English towns and cities, where the traditions of municipal service are happily higher and purer; but it is morally certain that in the present state of public opinion on the question, the danger—which already threatens us¹—would become very real. In considering this contingency, it has always to be remembered that so far our public services have never been brought into serious conflict with the liquor interest. The struggle in England has never become acute. What, therefore, would happen in a struggle involving the very existence of the drink traffic can only be imperfectly conjectured; but experience is not wanting to show that with a divided public opinion the result would be disastrous to the purity of our civic life. As the Mayor of Boston, Mass., speaking from practical experience of prohibition in that important city, admirably expressed it: "In a business involving such immense pecuniary interests as does the liquor traffic, and in which public sympathy is so largely on the side of the dealers, it is obvious that the inducements and opportunities which exist for evading or averting the operation of a prohibitory law which threatens their commercial ruin, must give rise to influences of a character to tempt the virtue and try the fidelity of police officers, and possessing a power

¹ See previous chapter.

too mighty to be persistently resisted by the average moral force of humanity.”¹

(b) *State Politics.*

The influence of the Trade as a political force has already been incidentally referred to, but it is strikingly illustrated by a statement made by General Neal Dow in the course of his evidence before the Canadian Commissioners in 1893. Asked how he accounted for the non-enforcement of the law in Maine, he replied: “In a general way, it is for this reason: The liquor leagues out west, in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, are very powerful. They have large funds at their disposal, and they have threatened the Republicans about enforcing the law. Breweries and distilleries are numerous, and the brewers and distillers are very rich and very influential, and they are thoroughly organized, and they have funds without limit for party purposes. They have sent word to the political bosses of the Republican party: ‘If you do anything more to crowd our friends in Maine, we will defeat you in Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois.’ The Republican party is managed on this question by the leaders in this State, not with reference to the public opinion of Maine, which is thoroughly in favour of prohibition, but with reference to the party all over the States; and with this fear over them of having the party defeated in their States, we find our great difficulty. As I said yesterday, *we never can suppress thoroughly the*

¹ Inaugural Address, January 4th, 1874. See *British Consular Report (Maine)*, 1874.

*liquor traffic until all the profit is taken out of it, and in order to do that we want fines sufficiently large to take the profit from the rum-sellers, and we want sufficient doses of gaol to make it disagreeable."*¹

That the evil is not confined to Maine is clear from the evidence taken by the Canadian Commissioners in other prohibition States. Thus, the Hon. Mr. Gaines, Superintendent of Public Instruction in the State of Kansas, was asked: "How do you account for the desire of the Republican party to propitiate the liquor element?" And he replied: "Simply to get power and hold office." "Is that element sufficiently large to be valuable to them?" "I would judge that they think so, or they would not desire to control it."

Another witness, speaking from the experience of forty years' residence in Kansas, said, "The Republicans in this State have been using it [*i.e.*, the prohibitory law] for the last ten years as a machine in politics. In the large cities they have control of the Boards of Police Commissioners, who appoint the police, and they treat the 'jointists'² in such a way as to make them use their influence and their money for the advancement of the Republican candidates." While a further witness said: "The saloon element in politics is a very influential one; it is a fact, to-day, I believe, that it is *the governing element in politics*."

The facts as stated—and it would be easy to multiply them almost indefinitely—are certainly deplorable, and will be profoundly disappointing to those who realize that the influence of the liquor saloon in

¹ *Evidence of the Royal Canadian Commission*, vol. V., p. 474.

² Illicit liquor dealers.

municipal and political affairs is one of the most serious of the corrupting forces that threaten national life. In this connection it is incontestably true that prohibition "has not yet touched the question where it presents the gravest difficulties, except to fail."

(c) *Municipal Cupidity.*

Nor can it be said that the prohibitory system has been more successful in avoiding another serious danger arising from the lucrative character of the traffic, and one which prohibitionists themselves urge is inherent in all proposals for direct municipal control; namely, the danger of giving municipalities a direct financial interest in the profits of the sale. The evidence already given concerning the working of the city liquor agencies in Maine¹ is sufficient illustration of the form which the danger has taken in that particular State, and although the evil has assumed a different shape in other prohibition States, its results have been no less serious.

In Iowa, for example, prior to the "Mulct" Law of 1894, there was no attempt to disguise the method adopted. There a system of fines and "levies" was openly established. The City Marshal of Council Bluffs, in giving evidence before the Royal Canadian Commission, stated that in the year 1892 there was received by the city as a revenue from persons engaged in selling liquor, of course illegally, \$46,000, and that in May, 1893, there were seventy-eight places in the city in which the traffic was carried

¹ See pp. 177-78.

on, not including drug stores. The population of Council Bluffs in 1890 was 21,474.

The method of fining had, indeed, for some years previously to 1893, been reduced to a fixed system, each liquor dealer being required to pay a regular monthly fine of \$50 besides the costs, the revenue derived therefrom being more than sufficient to meet the expenses of the police department. In other towns and cities a similar system has prevailed. In the town of Clinton, the population of which in 1890 was 13,619, the fine, including costs, was fixed at \$24.85 per month. In 1890 the fines amounted to no less than \$14,000; in 1891 to \$16,060; and in 1892 to \$27,800. The Rev. Frank Loveland—a strong prohibitionist who stated that he regarded the licensing of the liquor traffic as a wrong *per se*—when asked if he thought that the inhabitants of Clinton were influenced by the revenue consideration, replied: “I think so, very largely indeed.” He added: “There is no doubt but that the money consideration influences a great many. *Leave out of this prohibitory question in Iowa the money consideration, the revenue that comes from the liquor traffic, and you will solve the question before to-morrow night.*”¹

In the State of Kansas, again, a similar condition of things exists. In describing the system, the Deputy City Clerk of Kansas City—the largest city in the State—said: “Ever since I have been connected with the city,² the expense of our police department has been sustained out of fines imposed on liquor ‘joints.’

¹ *Evidence of the Royal Canadian Commission*, vol. V., p. 294.

² The statement was made in 1893.

The police arrest the keepers of these places once a month and bring them to the police court, where they ordinarily plead guilty and pay a fine of \$50 and costs. The fines altogether in a year amounted to about \$45,000. The Police Department take all their expenses out of that money first, and the balance, amounting to from \$5,000 to \$10,000, is turned into the general fund of the city.”¹ The Mayor of the city, in corroborating this, admitted that there were from sixty to eighty “joints” (*i.e.*, illicit liquor places) in the city, and that the revenue from the breaches of the liquor law formed a “very considerable” part of the city receipts.

The Rev. James Dougherty, a prohibitionist, explained the system at some length. The following extract from his evidence may be given:—

“For the eleven months ending 28th February, 1893, the police force has been not only self-sustaining, but a surplus of \$6,715.67 has been turned into the general funds of the city; and for the four years, from 15th March, 1889, to 1st March, 1893, the sum of \$12,893.25 has been placed to the credit of the city, after all expenses of the police department have been paid. The expenses of the department include not only the police force, but also repairs in gaol. For those four years the total receipts were \$149,274.16. When the old Commissioners were about to turn things over to the new board, they called together the police force, and congratulated them, not on having enforced the law and closed the joints and gambling houses; but here is what the President said

¹ The population of the city was 38,000 in 1890.

to the police force: 'Since they had been associated together over \$190,000 had been handled, and not the slightest suspicion had ever been uttered that a single cent had not been honestly accounted for, and the Board had the first complaint to hear that any member of the force had abused his power or position in the slightest.' *That is, the police force is an agency, not for the suppression of crime, but for collecting revenue, and the thing they are complimented for is that they have been such good collectors.*" Subsequently he added: "While I am personally a prohibitionist, I am inclined to think there is quite as much drinking as the thing is now managed as there would be under a license system. Under the system of licensing places there would be this advantage, that there would be none of this scheming and trickery on the part of the officials."

In other cities of the State a similar practice prevails. In Leavenworth (pop. 20,000) it is stated that the city has succeeded in getting from \$4,000 to \$4,500 every month from the liquor sellers. "The police force costs about \$1,500 or \$1,600 a month, and the remainder of the money is converted into the general treasury of the city, and used for the purpose of road improvements, for owing to the want of money [the] roads were falling into a very bad state."¹

The evidence, therefore, would seem to be complete that in the towns and cities of America the prohibitionist movement has failed to solve those initial difficulties which are the most serious, as they are

¹ See *Evidence of the Royal Canadian Commission*, vol. V., pp. 110, 129, 169, etc.

the most inevitable, obstacles to reform. Not only has it failed to destroy the liquor traffic, but its efforts in that direction have served but to intensify the evils of municipal and political corruption that are inseparable from so powerful and lucrative a monopoly.

EFFECT IN DEGRADING THE TRAFFIC.

It is, however, urged that even if the prohibitory law has not succeeded in entirely suppressing the sale of liquor, it has at least driven the traffic into holes and corners and out-of-the-way places, and made it a disreputable and criminal traffic.¹ The plea has some force in spite of the sales of the city liquor agents and druggists, and the large quantities of liquor brought into the towns by the various express companies and agents. It is questionable, however, if the gain is so great from a moral point of view as it is sometimes supposed to be. For, apart from the fact that the illicit and "underground" character of much of the traffic appears to offer peculiar temptations to the young, it is certain that one effect of so

¹ "The absence of liquor advertisements in the shape of 'gilt-edged' saloons with attractive show-windows, and the fact that the traffic has been driven into semi-obscurity, are referred to as indicating that prohibition has diminished temptation, and made it less reputable to visit liquor-shops. This is doubtless true to some extent. But the bars are within easy reach of the best streets, if not established on them, as the hotel bars are, for instance, and they offer a dangerous seclusion for the customer who is once inside. Again, the apothecary shops hold out, perhaps, the most perilous kind of temptation, inasmuch as the drink-buyer is here free from observation, and is induced to purchase a larger quantity than is desired for immediate use." —*The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects*, p. 58.

degrading the traffic is to create a lower class of liquor dealers, whose methods are not only utterly unscrupulous, but fraught with serious moral mischief to the community. In this way the social menace from the traffic is not only not destroyed, but actually stimulated into more vicious and mischievous forms.

THE "RELATIVE" CHARACTER OF THE FAILURE.

Nor does there appear to be greater force in the further plea that the failure of the prohibitory law is after all only relative, and analogous to the partial failure of all laws. No law, it is said, does, as a matter of fact, entirely abolish crime; even the most stringent penal laws, it is argued, fail to entirely abolish either murders or thefts. The argument is plausible, but unconvincing, inasmuch as it does not take sufficient account of ordinary moral distinctions. Of course, if we are prepared to identify the two lines of conduct, and to reduce the offences of murder, theft, and illegal drinking to a common measure of moral significance, the analogy may hold. But is the public conscience prepared to do so? Are they morally the same? Moreover, can it be doubted that if our penal laws were discovered to be powerless to stop murders and thefts to any considerable extent—to such an extent, for example, as the prohibitory laws in various States have notoriously failed to stop the sale of liquors—we should speedily alter or modify them? The enforcement of ordinary laws may be in a general way a relative question, but, even at the worst, the failure is in no way comparable to the signal and demoralizing failure of the prohibitory law in the larger towns and cities of Maine and other States.

THE REACTION AGAINST PROHIBITION.

In view of all the facts, it is hardly matter for surprise that a lurking distrust of prohibition as a practicable scheme of politics is steadily asserting itself even in quarters that once were favourable to the system, and that recent elections give evidence of a growing reaction against the law in several of the prohibition States.

That there is such a reaction, no one who has followed the history of the experiment at all closely can doubt. A reference to the table given on an earlier page¹ shows that prohibition has been adopted at various periods by no fewer than sixteen States, and compulsorily enforced, by order of the Federal Government, in one territory (Alaska). It continues in force in six States² and one territory only. The tide of prohibitionist sentiment seems to have reached its highest point in 1855, when there were twelve States under prohibition. Then the ebb began. In 1867 there were only seven States under a prohibitory law, while the lowest point was reached in 1877, when only five States supported the system. In 1887, the average point of seven was again reached, but the number has since been reduced to six (practically, if we exclude Iowa, to five), South Dakota having in 1896 adopted a high licence system. It would seem, therefore, that in the United States, at least, legislative prohibition is not progressing, and this is further

¹ See p. 123.

² In reality, the number of prohibition States is only five, the State of Iowa having practically abolished prohibition by its "Mulct" law. See p. 127.

evidenced by an analysis of the votes polled on the issue of prohibition (*i.e.*, as a Constitutional Amendment) since 1880. The details of the votes are given in a later chapter,¹ and a reference to the table will show that out of nineteen elections at which the question has been submitted since 1880, prohibition has been carried in seven and negatived in twelve.² The true value of the figures is shown by the following considerations: First, taking the seven successful elections, it will be seen that out of a total poll of 1,249,035 votes, the majority in favour of prohibition was 179,877, while no fewer than 250,772 persons abstained from voting as compared with the number that voted at the nearest political election. In other words, taking the total votes polled in the same States at the nearest political election as the basis of comparison, the total vote in favour of prohibition in the seven successful States was short of an actual majority of the voters in those States by 35,448 votes.

If, moreover, we take the whole of the elections at which the issue was raised, we find that out of a total poll of 3,800,714, the total number of votes cast in favour of prohibition was 1,743,329, while no fewer than 858,398 persons abstained from voting as compared with the number that voted at the nearest political election. Or, to put it in another way, the total prohibition vote was no less than 157,028 votes short of one-half of the votes actually polled, and 586,227 votes short of one-half of the votes cast at the nearest political election.

¹ See Appendix, p. 569.

² No account, it will be seen, is taken in this computation of the repeal of prohibition in South Dakota in 1896.

The figures are certainly striking, and the conclusion would seem to be obvious that they point to a definite reaction of public sentiment subsequent to 1886.

That such a reaction has, in point of fact, actually taken place cannot be disputed, nor is it possible to explain it on any other ground than that of the manifest failure of the prohibitory system to achieve the results that were previously claimed in its behalf. The evidence is conclusive that in no single State has the law been satisfactorily enforced in the large urban centres. On the contrary, its successes have always been achieved in sparsely populated rural districts where the problem to be dealt with is notoriously simpler and easier of solution. It is, indeed, significant of the impracticableness of prohibition in the towns that, although the people of the United States have had the object lesson of Maine before their eyes for fifty years, not one of the great cities of the Union has permanently followed its example.

Under any circumstances this failure of the system in the towns and cities would be important, but its importance is increased by the fact that in America, as elsewhere, the drift of population is increasingly towards the cities. Some idea of this rapid development of urban life in the United States may be gathered from the fact that while, in 1850, the urban population (*i.e.*, persons living in towns of 8,000 inhabitants and upwards) formed less than 13 per cent. of the entire population of the States, the proportion had risen to 22 per cent. in 1880, and to nearly 30 per cent. in 1890.¹ In the North

¹ In 1790 the proportion of urban to rural population in the United States was only 3 per cent.

Atlantic Division the proportion of urban population is much greater, amounting in 1890 to more than one-half (*i.e.*, 51½ per cent.) of the entire population of those States.

In 1870, again, there were only fourteen cities with a population of more than 100,000 inhabitants. In 1880, however, the number of such cities had risen to twenty, while in 1890 it had grown to twenty-eight. In 1880, again, there was only one city (New York) which had a population of more than a million, whereas in 1890 there were three—viz., New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia.¹

It is morally certain that for generations to come this growth of urban districts will continue, and that, led on the one hand by a gregarious instinct which persists through all ages and civilizations, and driven on the other by the force of economic circumstances, an ever-increasing proportion of the people will gravitate towards the urban districts, and America will tend to become, what England within her narrower limits has already become—a network of towns and cities whose borders expand continually under the pressure of an irresistible growth.² A method of re-

¹ The number of cities having a population of 8,000 and upwards increased from 6 in 1790 to 286 in 1880, and to 448 in 1890.

² "We may not flatter ourselves that this movement of population from country to city is temporary and local. It is neither. It is not incident to a new civilization. . . . The unprecedented growth of cities in recent years is a world-phenomenon. And as the causes of this growth will continue . . . we have every reason to expect this growth will continue. There is a natural limit to the growth of agricultural population, but none to that of the city. The great bulk of the vast

form, therefore, that is applicable only to sparsely populated rural districts, and is inapplicable to towns and cities, can have but a restricted and diminishing sphere of influence.

This consideration is especially important in view of proposals that are sometimes made for the application of a similar law to England,¹ where the distribution of population presents very much greater difficulties.

The most densely populated prohibition State (*i.e.*, New Hampshire) is populated at the rate of 40 persons to the square mile, whereas the *least* densely populated English county (*i.e.*, Westmorland) is populated at the rate of 84 persons to the square mile. Lancashire, on the other hand, is populated at the rate of 1,938 persons to the square mile, and Middlesex at the rate of 2,061, while London reaches the almost incredible density of 35,998 persons to the square mile. The average density for the whole of England and Wales is 497 persons per square mile.

population which the United States is capable of sustaining will some day live in cities. And if the rate of growth and movement of population from 1880 to 1890 continues until 1920, the city will then contain upwards of ten millions more than the country."—STRONG, *The New Era*, p. 187.

¹ It is important to note that the proposal in favour of *national* prohibition is not supported to any considerable extent by the influential leaders of the Temperance movement in England, who for the most part freely recognise, what is clear to all students of social and political thought, that public opinion is at present too hostile to so sweeping a proposal to give it even a moderate prospect of success. The immediate policy of the leading Temperance organizations in this country tends rather in the direction of a measure of permissive prohibition based upon the principle of local option. See footnote, p. 220.

Further, in the whole of the six prohibition States there is only one city containing 50,000 or more inhabitants (and only seven containing 30,000 and upwards). In England and Wales, on the other hand, there are no fewer than sixty-two towns and cities containing upwards of 50,000 inhabitants. Of these:—

14	contain	50,000 and under	60,000 inhabitants	
7	"	60,000	"	70,000
7	"	70,000	"	80,000
6	"	80,000	"	90,000
4	"	90,000	"	100,000
13	"	100,000	"	200,000
5	"	200,000	"	300,000
2	"	300,000	"	400,000
1	"	400,000	"	500,000
2	"	500,000	"	600,000

while one contains over 4,000,000 inhabitants.

Or, to put it in another way. Taking the whole of the six prohibition States, only 50,093 persons, or 1 *per cent.* of the population, live in towns containing 50,000 or more inhabitants. In England and Wales, on the other hand, no fewer than 11,872,684 persons, or 41 *per cent.* of the total population, live in such towns.¹ It is therefore impossible to suppose that a system which has failed in the towns and

¹ For example:—

Persons.		Inhabitants.
2,618,710 or 9 %	{ of the total population live in towns of over }	50,000 and under 100,000
1,771,884 " 6 %	"	100,000 " 200,000
1,056,763 " 3½ %	"	200,000 " 300,000
691,748 " 2½ %	"	300,000 " 400,000
478,113 " 1½ %	"	400,000 " 500,000
1,023,848 " 3½ %	"	500,000 " 600,000
4,232,118 " 15 %	" a city of over 4,000,000	"

cities of such sparsely populated States could meet the conditions of the more numerous and densely crowded urban districts of England.

LOCAL OPTION.

In reply to this, it is sometimes suggested that, although the system of State prohibition has met with but limited success, it does not follow that a system of *local option*, safeguarded by wise provisions as to the majority necessary for prohibition, would not achieve more satisfactory results.

The present writers are unable to believe that local option, if adopted, would solve the problem where it presents the gravest difficulties (*i.e.*, in the towns and cities), but it is probable that it would find fruitful operation in the rural districts, as well as, occasionally, in a suburb or ward of a city. Local option, in varying forms, is already in successful operation in the *rural districts* of an overwhelming majority of the American States, including some (*e.g.*, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Michigan) that have tried and abandoned State prohibition, as well as in the rural districts of Canada, Australia, Sweden, and Norway.

CANADA.

The case of Canada demands more than passing notice. Under the Canada Temperance Act of 1878 (commonly known as the "Scott Act" from the name of the member of the Senate who introduced it), counties and cities in the Dominion can, by a majority of those entitled to vote for representatives in the Federal

Parliament, prohibit the retail sale of intoxicating liquors within their boundaries. Twenty-five per cent. of the electors of any county or city can, by petition to His Excellency the Governor-General in Council, require that a vote of the electors of the same county or city be taken on the question of the adoption of the prohibitory clauses of the Act. If a majority of the qualified electors of the said county or city vote in favour of the adoption of the Act, it is put in force by proclamation of the Governor-General, all legal formalities having been previously complied with. The Act being adopted, the retail sale of liquor, except by persons licensed to sell for medicinal, mechanical, and sacramental purposes, is prohibited.

Since the passing of the Act it has been submitted to public opinion in nine cities and seventy-one counties.¹ It remains in force in two cities and twenty-

¹ The following is a summary :—

Carried four times and still in force	1
" three " " "	1
" twice " " "	5
" once " " "	21
Carried three times, rejected the fourth, carried the fifth	1
At present in force	<u>29</u>
Defeated the first time and not submitted again	16
Carried the first election but defeated the second	30
" twice and lost twice	1
" once and lost twice	1
" twice and lost once	2
Lost twice and not carried at all	1
	<u>—</u>
	51

seven counties.¹ In the provinces of Ontario and British Columbia, which contain the largest proportion of urban population of all the provinces in the Dominion, the Act is nowhere in force.² Both of these provinces, however, have other permissive legislation in force which recognises, although unequally, the principle of local option. Now, it is unquestionable that, *so far as the rural districts are concerned* (and Canada, it must be remembered, is pre-eminently a country of rural populations),³ the local veto clauses of the various permissive Acts have achieved satisfactory results. But it is necessary at the same time to point out that Canada furnishes us with no evidence that in the larger towns and cities of the United Kingdom a prohibitory policy would be successful. The available evidence, on the contrary, is almost entirely opposed to such a presumption. In an official memorandum transmitted through the Governor-General of Canada to Lord Knutsford in 1889, the

¹ The Act is in force in one district in the Province of Quebec, in two in the Province of Manitoba, in eleven in the Province of Nova Scotia, in eleven in the Province of New Brunswick, and four in the Province of Prince Edward Island.—*Statistical Year Book of Canada*, 1895, p. 906.

² Formerly, twenty-five counties and two cities in the Province of Ontario were under the provisions of the "Scott" Act, representing three-fourths of the entire province, but the law was subsequently repealed in them all, "repeal in most cases"—to quote the words of Dr. McLeod, the representative of the Dominion Temperance Organizations on the Canadian Commission—"taking place at the earliest possible opportunity."

³ The Dominion of Canada had, in 1891, less than fifty towns and cities containing 5,000 inhabitants and upwards, and only *three* (*i.e.*, Montreal, Toronto, and Quebec) containing 50,000 inhabitants and upwards.

Provincial Secretary of Nova Scotia wrote: "In the few counties where the Canada Temperance Act is not in force the liquor traffic is regulated by an Act of the Legislature of Nova Scotia, passed in the year 1886, and Acts in amendment thereof. . . . The municipal authorities are not at liberty to issue licences except where certain conditions are complied with. One of these conditions is that the applicant for a licence must obtain a favourable certificate signed by two-thirds of the ratepayers of the district in which it is proposed to sell liquor, or, in the case of the city of Halifax, a certificate signed by three-fifths of the ratepayers of the specified district. There are stringent provisions to secure the enforcement of the Act. In *rural districts*, where there is a strong Temperance sentiment, the Act is well observed. Few licences are issued. In the city of Halifax (population 38,556) the effect of the present legislation is a matter of debate. . . . The advocates of prohibition, who secured the passing of this legislation, admit that the Act has not realized their expectations in the city of Halifax. Though no bars are allowed by law, it is alleged that there are as many as there were before, that holders of shop licences sell to persons who drink on the premises, and that there is, as before, much selling by unlicensed persons. Many citizens are of opinion that the provisions of the law are so stringent that in the present state of public opinion they cannot be successfully enforced."¹

Or, to take another illustration: On April 8th, 1890, the following "Minute of Council," drawn up

¹ See *Parliamentary Return* (C.—6,670) 1892.

by the Committee of the Executive Council of the Province of New Brunswick, was approved by the Lieutenant Governor and forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies: "The Committee have to remark that in some portions of the Province the Canada Temperance Act, 1878, has been brought into operation and has been in force for several years. The Committee are of opinion that in communities where there is a strong public sentiment in favour of the Act it has worked well and has lessened in a marked degree the evils resulting from drinking in taverns. *This is true more particularly of country districts. In the larger towns and cities the Act has not been so well enforced*, and the Committee think it cannot be truthfully said that very beneficial results have as a general rule followed its adoption in such cities and towns, though undoubtedly an exception must be made in the case of one or two towns where the Act has been quite rigidly and successfully enforced."¹

It will thus be seen that in Canada, as elsewhere, prohibition has failed to solve the problem precisely where it presents the most serious difficulties. That this fact has not failed to impress itself upon the public mind is evident from the fact that while in the recent plebiscite in Canada the rural districts polled large majorities in favour of national prohibition, the principal towns and cities gave an emphatic negative to the proposal. In referring to this fact, in an article published in the *Alliance News*, November 4th, 1898, Mr. F. S. Spence, the Secretary of the Dominion

¹ *Ibid.*

Alliance, said: "As was expected, a majority of the cities and largest towns, the strongholds of the liquor traffic, voted 'No.' There are exceptions. Halifax, St. John, Brantford, Winnipeg, and some other large towns voted 'Yes,' but as a rule the urban constituencies went against Prohibition. The partly rural constituencies of Victoria, B.C., Lincoln, and East York owed their 'No' majorities entirely to votes in the cities of Victoria, St. Catharines, and Toronto respectively. *The voting strength of the Prohibitionists is greatest in agricultural districts, and in the villages and smaller towns.*"

SUBURBS AND WARDS OF CITIES.

Illustrations, however, are not wanting to prove that while the policy fails in respect of large towns and cities *treated as a whole*, the system of permissive legislation may occasionally find successful operation in a suburb or ward of a city. There are, of course, numerous instances of successful local prohibition in the United Kingdom, and while the majority of these consist of villages which owe their immunity from the liquor traffic to the ordinance and foresight of the local "squire," there are others which furnish useful suggestions of the possibilities of permissive legislation in the suburbs and wards of large cities. Among these may be mentioned the Toxteth Park Estate, in Liverpool (population 60,000); the Shaftesbury Park Estate, Battersea (population 7,500); the Queen's Park Estate, Kensal Green (population 14,420); the Noel Park Estate, Wood Green (population 9,100);

and others.¹ In these cases, it is true, the "option" is again not, strictly speaking, a "permissive" one, inasmuch as the prohibition of the traffic is due to restrictions imposed by the owners of the estates; but the favourable regard in which the restriction is popularly held is sufficiently indicated by the eagerness of respectable working men and others to rent houses in the prohibited areas. Further, there is ample evidence that in these districts the system of restriction has operated beneficially so far as the local communities are concerned. But it would obviously be unwise to press these illustrations beyond certain clearly defined limits, and to overlook the fact that their *utmost* value as evidence of the probable success of permissive legislation falls far short of the full extent of the problem to be solved. Prohibition, it must be remembered, is successful in these districts precisely because their close proximity to non-prohibition areas offers abundant facilities for the purchase of liquor to those of their population who desire to have it.

Toxteth Park, Liverpool.

The districts commonly referred to as Toxteth Park,² Liverpool, may be taken as an illustration of this. The prohibited districts comprise a considerable area covered by some 11,000 or 12,000 houses, and including a population of about 60,000 persons, composed for the most part of respectable working-class

¹ Bessbrook, Ulster, is a familiar illustration of prohibition in a busy, prosperous village.

² What is known as Toxteth Park is really an extra-parochial district of Liverpool. It was formerly a park, but is now simply a section of the city.

families and clerks. The population of the district is, however, far from being composed exclusively of teetotalers,¹ and the wants of the non-abstainers are fully met by the facilities offered for the purchase of liquor by a "considerable number" of licensed houses in the districts which immediately adjoin the prohibited areas. As Mr. W. Crosfield, J.P., put it in his recent evidence before the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws: "I am bound to say that with a very little trouble from the centre of that area [Kensington Fields] an unlimited quantity of refreshments could be obtained from the houses which have been in existence for a great many years."²

Queen's Park, Kensal Green.

The case of Queen's Park, Kensal Green, furnishes a similar illustration. The estate comprises an area of seventy acres, covered by some 2,300 houses, occupied for the most part by artisans and clerks. There are no licensed houses within this area, but there are public-houses in the districts immediately adjoining, and—according to the evidence of the Rev. Sidney Bott, Vicar of St. Jude's, Kensal Green, and a warm supporter of local prohibition—there is "a constant effort to get more." In addition to these it was stated by the same witness that within a small radius comprising about 300 houses there are no fewer than nine

¹ "With regard to the restricted area, you do not in any way suggest that those who live in this area are in any way abstainers more than in the usual area?"—"Oh, no, I am sorry to say not."—*Evidence of Mr. W. Crosfield, J.P., Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, vol. II (1897), p. 33.

² *Ibid.*, p. 24.

"off" licences, three of which are "at the very gates" of the prohibited area, and "others as near as they could get." Asked how he could explain the existence of so many "off" licences in a comparatively poor district, he replied: "You forget that there are these 2,300 houses close by without any public-house. *The custom comes from Queen's Park.*"¹

Cambridge (Mass.). Population (1890) 70,028.

The case of Cambridge, Massachusetts, may also be referred to as an illustration of prohibition in a suburban district. The city has been under a system of "no licence" since 1886, and is said to furnish "one of the most striking and instructive illustrations of the operation of a prohibitory policy, adopted by popular veto." Without attempting to question the results claimed, it is necessary to point out that the circumstances are very similar to those of the English areas. The city is closely adjacent to Boston, from which it is only separated by the river Charles. It is connected with Boston by several bridges traversed by electric and other tramways. The interests of the suburb are identical with those of the capital, and large numbers of its inhabitants are employed there. "There is little doubt," says Mr. Fanshawe, "that both in this and in other cities and towns in the immediate neighbourhood of Boston the vote for 'no licence' is supported by many who are not prohibitionists, but are influenced by reasons of local con-

¹ "Then you say the restriction of the public-house has produced these off licences?"—"I do grant you that."—*Ibid.*, vol. III., p. 205.

venience and the facilities afforded by the adjoining city. . . . A large number of the arrests for drunkenness are made at the Cambridge ends of the bridges, as the revellers return from Boston.”¹ The following figures—which are taken from the report of the Royal Canadian Commission—give the arrests for all offences, and for drunkenness in Cambridge for the five years 1889–93.

Years.	Population.	Total arrests.	Ratio per 1,000 of population.	Arrests for drunkenness.	Ratio per 1,000 of population.
Sep. 30, 1880	52,669	—	—	—	—
„ 1889	68,300	1,409	20·62	696	10·19
„ 1890	70,028	1,617	23·80	754	10·76
„ 1891	71,800	2,166	30·16	935	13·02
„ 1892	73,000	2,809	38·47	1,515	20·75
„ 1893	74,400	3,373	45·33	2,039	27·40

In 1886—the last year of the licence system—the total arrests amounted to 1,703, and the arrests for drunkenness to 720. The Royal Commissioners in their report say: “Cambridge is so near to Boston that the number of arrests there does not probably afford a safe basis for making comparisons. No licences have been issued in that city for several years past, but the arrests for drunkenness have very largely increased since 1889.”

Pullman (Illinois). Population (1893) 12,000.

The town of Pullman (Illinois) is another oft-quoted instance of successful local prohibition, where similar facilities exist. The town is situate on the shores of

¹ *Liquor Legislation in the United States and Canada*, p. 206.

Lake Calumet and forms part of the 34th ward of the city of Chicago. It was built early in the eighties by the Pullman Car Company, who from the beginning have forbidden all traffic in liquor within the area under their control. That this ordinance has worked with advantage to the town there is ample evidence to show. At the same time, however, it does not deprive the inhabitants of easy access to liquor, since—according to the statement of the British Consul at Chicago—“by walking across the street they are in the town of Kensington and can there buy all they want.” The case is therefore in every way analogous to those already considered.

Now it is clear that where there is this safety-valve in the shape of neighbouring facilities for the purchase of liquor by those who are accustomed to use it, prohibition in limited urban areas (*e.g.*, wards and suburbs of large cities) may be successfully attempted; and it is not unlikely that if permissive legislation were granted, many districts of this character would gladly avail themselves of its powers. But it is impossible to believe that in the present state of public opinion a complete prohibitory policy could be successfully adopted in any important town or city. To admit this, however, is not to suggest that the widespread and practically unrestricted sale of liquor as at present conducted in the larger towns and cities must continue. On the contrary, it should certainly be possible, while permitting the continuance of such traffic as public opinion demands, to safeguard the conditions under which it is conducted, and to reduce to a minimum the evils that at present are associated with the trade. How this is to be done the present

writers hope to show in a later chapter.¹ It is enough here to say that no scheme of reform can be accepted as satisfactory and final that does not secure in the *towns and cities* as well as in the rural districts of the State (1) the support of an effective majority, and (2) the elimination of the dangers arising from the private conduct of the traffic.

CONCLUSION.

To sum up. It would be misleading if, while recognising the failure of the prohibitory system in the towns and cities, no adequate mention were made of its successes in the rural districts, which include, it must be remembered, four-fifths of the entire population of the prohibition States. The problem to be solved is, of course, much simpler in the rural districts, and the obstacles to be encountered in the enforcement of the law are few and unimportant. But the broad fact remains that in the rural districts of America, as elsewhere (*e.g.*, Canada, Sweden, and Norway), popular sentiment is generally on the side of the restriction and prohibition of the liquor traffic, and enforcement of the law is found to be comparatively easy. In the larger towns and cities, however, the conditions are different, and it is there, as we have seen, that prohibition has failed. The failure is the more significant inasmuch as Temperance sentiment in America (as also in Canada) is far in advance of Temperance sentiment in this country, and consequently the conditions are, by so much, rendered more favourable to strict enforcement of the law. It is evident, therefore, that a system that has failed

¹ See chapter VI.

in urban communities there is not likely to prove successful in the larger and more densely populated towns and cities of the United Kingdom.

The chief points of the failure, briefly summarized, are as follow :—

- (1) In the first place it has been established that, judged by the most elementary and practical of tests—the test of drunkenness—prohibition in the towns and cities has conspicuously failed. Not only is there indisputable evidence that drunkenness is still widely prevalent, but the official statistics indicate that its measure is relatively greater in the towns and cities of the prohibition States than in those of certain non-prohibition States situate in the same geographical division. The statistical test, it is true, is of doubtful *comparative* value, but the *absolute* significance of the figures is too serious to be ignored.
- (2) Secondly, it has been shown that the law (*i.e.*, in the towns and cities), so far from increasing the purity of civic life, has been productive of serious and widespread demoralization. Inadequately supported on the one hand by a convinced public opinion, and thwarted on the other by the antagonism of an unscrupulous trade interest, it has intensified temptations which have corrupted the police administration and undermined the popular respect for law.
- (3) Further, it has been shown that while the evils connected with the sale of liquor for private profit have not been to any considerable extent eliminated, there has been added to these, in

several of the prohibition States, the temptation to use, under various devices, the proceeds of a prohibited traffic for the relief of local rates. In other words, the demands of law have been subordinated to considerations of municipal profit.

- (4) Finally, abundant evidence has been given to show that while the attempt to enforce prohibition in the towns and cities has been invariably accompanied by deplorable results, it has left the influence of the liquor traffic a great political force in the State.

In view of such evidence it is impossible to regard the suggestion of prohibition as a complete and practicable solution of a problem whose complexity and urgency are becoming more and more clearly recognised in this and other lands. The present writers, it will be seen, are far from hostile to the principle of prohibition in so far as it can be made operative through a system of *local option*.¹ On the contrary,

¹ It is to be noted that the accepted and authorized policy of the influential Temperance organizations in this country is one of *local option* as distinct from *national prohibition*. Thus, Mr. T. P. Whittaker, M.P., addressing the General Council of the United Kingdom Alliance at its annual meeting on October 18th, 1898, said: "It is well that we should clearly understand what is the aim and what is the object of the U.K.A. Our aim and object are to suppress the liquor traffic. We propose it should be done by law. As a matter of principle, we protest against the continuance of the traffic as a wrong which ought immediately to be put an end to. But as practical politicians we recognise that this is a democratic country, that such a law as we desire must be the expression of the will of the people, and that it cannot be successfully enforced and maintained unless it is the expression of the will of the people; and we carry that policy so far that we only ask that those localities

they believe that such a system has a distinct place in the ultimate solution of the problem, and one, moreover, that can only be finally determined by experience. But they are profoundly convinced that so far as the towns and cities are concerned the policy of prohibition can have but occasional and limited application, and that for a complete solution of the problem resort must be had to other methods.

It must also be insisted that a policy of permissive legislation that left undisturbed the present monopolist character of the permitted traffic (*i.e.*, as conducted for private gain) would fail in the first essentials of reform. It would leave unremedied the evils that are inseparable from such a traffic in those communities that refused to adopt prohibitory legislation, and, further, it would unite the forces of a powerful monopoly in unscrupulous hostility to the law in districts that were favourable to its enforcement. Clearly, therefore, the plea for permissive legislation must be accompanied by satisfactory proposals for the conduct of the traffic that would remain, and those proposals must carry within themselves ample security for the elimination of the influence of the liquor traffic from municipal and political life.

which desire to suppress the liquor traffic should have power to do so within their own borders. We recognise the difficulty of dealing with a traffic which touches the habits and prejudices of the people; and, speaking for myself alone, under those circumstances I am strongly in favour of requiring a two-thirds majority, instead of a small majority, because we must have the opinion of the people in the locality behind our law, or it will fail. Further, we do not thrust our views upon any community. We ask only that those communities which are educated up to the point of desiring to get rid of this evil in their midst, should have the power to do so."

CHAPTER IV

State Monopoly and High Licence

GOVERNMENT SPIRIT MONOPOLY IN RUSSIA

AN experiment of a different character from any hitherto considered is that of the Government Spirit Monopoly in Russia. The system was introduced, by way of experiment, in four of the eastern provinces in January of 1895. From the beginning of the second half of 1896 it became the common law of the Empire, and only the preparatory work of organization has occasioned a delay in its application to the whole of Russia in Europe. "In addition to the above-mentioned regions, the monopoly is in force in the North-West, the North, and in all the Kingdom of Poland. The time is not far distant when it will be in force equally in the parts of Siberia nearest the Ural."¹ In the establishment of this monopoly "two objects have been kept in view throughout: firstly, to obtain for the benefit of the State the largest possible amount of revenue from this trade; and, secondly, to diminish drunkenness."² The two objects named must

¹ *Bulletin Russe de Statistique Financière et de Législation*. Nos. 10-12, Oct.-Dec., 1898.

² *Foreign Office Report*—(*Miscellaneous Series*), No. 465, 1898.

necessarily be somewhat antagonistic, and the history of Government monopolies would warrant the expectation that more attention will ultimately be paid to the acquisition of revenue than to the lessening of drunkenness;¹ the Government Opium Monopoly in India and the State Liquor Monopoly in South Carolina are illustrations in point.

The new monopoly is limited to the sale of spirituous liquors which are, according to Consular statement, "the usual alcoholic beverages of the masses," and is not extended to fermented beverages such as wine and beer. The manufacture of spirits remains in the hands of private persons, but the distilleries are put under official regulation as regards output, prices, etc.

The retail dealers consist of—

- (1) The shops and depots of the Government.
- (2) "Traktirs,"² restaurants, and private establishments, which sell on commission for the Government.

In the Government shops, no consumption on the premises is allowed. The spirits are sold in closed and sealed bottles, on which is a label stating the price, quantity, and alcoholic strength. The price of the bottles, which are of various sizes, is strictly proportional to the contents. No corkscrews are allowed in

¹ "In the opinion of many persons, one of the chief objections to the present reform is that it is impossible for the State to adequately perform the twofold duties now undertaken by it; namely, to maintain the revenues from the tax on liquors at their previous level, and to endeavour to wean the masses from their fatal proclivity to inordinate drinking."—*Ibid.*, p. 6.

² Establishments where food is supplied as well as drink.

the shops, nor are the buyers allowed to open the bottles on the premises, or while carrying them to their destination. In the country, the "traktirs" may supply their customers with closed bottles only, at a fixed price, receiving a small commission (about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.) from the Government on their sales. Except in these establishments, and in the Government shops, it is impossible to procure any spirits legally in the rural districts.

In towns and at railway stations, keepers of restaurants and buffets may sell spirits either:—

- (a) As in the country—viz., in sealed bottles and at the prices marked thereon, but with this difference, that the contents may be consumed on the premises,¹ or
- (b) By the glass, or in any way they choose. Spirits of any kind, native or foreign, may be sold.

This second mode (b) of sale is only permitted in the case of a very few restaurants and buffets of the highest class, and the privilege is not likely to lead to any danger to the working-classes, whose purses do not permit them to patronize such costly establishments.

A sweeping reduction has also been made in the number of places where drink can be obtained. In St. Petersburg, out of 937 wine and spirit shops, only 178 are now permitted to sell Government spirits; some others may continue their business, but are not

¹ This is another illustration of the fact which meets one at every turn, that it is impracticable to carry out in the towns regulations as stringent as those which can be enforced in the country.

authorized to sell spirits. The Government and private spirit-shops now amount to 325, which number may be increased if necessary. Out of the 650 "traktirs" formerly existing, 250 only have been relicensed, but there are also 15 first-class restaurants where spirits of any kind may be sold without restrictions as to price or quantity, and 66 others with the obligation to sell Government spirits, if required, at Government prices and in sealed bottles.

COMPENSATION.

No compensation has been given to the dispossessed keepers of spirit-shops. An extract from a semi-official publication may be quoted :¹—

"In Russia, there can be no question of giving compensation to the evicted retailers of spirits. The licence they were granted by which they were permitted to carry on their deplorable business has always been considered by the legislator, the administration, the public, and by themselves as a permission liable to be withdrawn without explanation or comment."

It is, however, stated that the question of granting assistance in certain cases to the above-mentioned individuals is under consideration. In the case, however, of Poland, some of the Western provinces, and the Baltic provinces, very ancient vested rights existed belonging to both private persons and public bodies. Landed proprietors and towns had the right of distilling, and keeping drink-shops, both of which proved

¹ Quoted in *Foreign Office Report*—(*Miscellaneous Series*), No 465, 1898.

a source of considerable income. It was found impossible to extinguish these rights, called "propination," without some compensation. Accordingly, all those who have enjoyed the privileges of "propination" have been called on to furnish returns to the Government showing their annual income from this source for the five years 1890-94; an average is taken, and this sum, multiplied by 20, has been or will be paid to them as a final settlement of their claims for the loss of their rights.

SALE OF BEER.

"Although it was stated that the Monopoly would sell spirits only, its introduction has occasioned great interference with the sale of beer, the licences for houses providing this beverage having been considerably reduced in number." In St. Petersburg, for instance, out of 982 establishments where beer might be sold and consumed on the premises, 304 are permitted to carry on their trade as before, while 580 may sell beer, but not for consumption on the premises. These restrictions have caused a considerable loss to the brewing industry, the consumption of beer being said to have fallen off nearly 30 per cent. since the beginning of 1898.

COUNTER ATTRACTIONS.

A feature of some interest in the new legislation is thus described in the Consular Report:—

"While criticising the monopoly, mention should be made of the tea-shops which the Government are endeavouring to establish alongside of the new system,

and for which certain sums of money have been granted. They are intended to take the place of the old dram-shops, and to become harmless places of resort for the lower classes, where they can meet without any temptation to intemperance. Temperance committees have been also formed, presided over by the Governor of the province when in a provincial town, and by the Marshal of Nobility in a district town. The functions of these committees consist in endeavouring to prevent an inordinate consumption of vodka, and to generally promote Temperance. They are also authorized to establish tea-rooms and to make them as attractive as possible. It is stated that these attempts to combat drunkenness and to wean the people from the drink-shops have as yet proved ineffectual, owing to the smallness of the sums devoted by the provincial authorities to the organization and maintenance of the Temperance establishments."

It is worthy of note that the Government have thus recognised the necessity of providing counter attractions with which to combat drunkenness. In the Russian climate, it would obviously be a mistake to close the doors of the warm room—the popular place of meeting—without providing a substitute. But it is equally worthy of note that the experiment has failed because it has not been supported by adequate funds. To provide attractions which shall efficiently counteract those of the public-house must involve a great expenditure of money and time.

RESULTS OF THE MONOPOLY.

The latest and most authoritative evidence upon the working of the Spirit Monopoly is to be found in

the Report of the Russian Minister of Finance addressed to the Emperor under date January 31st, 1899, from which the following extracts have been taken. After stating that the immediate result of the introduction of the Monopoly is a diminished consumption of alcohol, but that as the people become accustomed to the new *régime* the consumption tends to revert to the former figures, the Report continues :—

“Now that four years have passed since the monopoly was put in force in the Eastern Provinces, and two and a half years since it came into operation in the vast regions of the South and South-West, it is permissible to express a judgment on its moral and economic effects, and to present some data for estimating its financial results.

“Your Imperial Majesty is aware that, in changing the method of collecting the duty on alcohol, it was not sought directly to increase the fiscal revenues. If the Minister of Finance felt it necessary to ask that the retail sale of spirituous liquors should be taken from individuals and monopolized by the State, it was above all that he might bring to an end the abuses inherent in the old organization. With us the average of consumption is relatively small, though there are great variations. The spirituous liquors offered for sale by the retail dealers contain ingredients which are harmful, if not dangerous, to the health. The very conditions of the trade in strong drink, a very lucrative trade for people who are not over-scrupulous, favoured the perpetuation of manifold abuses which were ruining the lower classes. It was impossible to end these deplorable evils except by

placing the trade in the hands of the State. The trial that has just been made, short as has been its duration, has proved that the monopoly attains this end.

“The reports addressed to Your Majesty by the Governors of the Provinces where the new system is in force, and the accounts communicated to the Minister of Finance by the highest ecclesiastical authorities, by the Officials of the Nobility, by the Zemstvos, and by the Municipalities, are almost unanimous in bearing evidence to the salutary effects of the reform. The better quality of the brandy, the considerable reduction in the number of places of sale, the establishment of uniform prices strictly proportional to the quantity sold, the impossibility of procuring alcoholic drinks except for ready money,—all these advantages, and others which are brought about by the rectification and sale of spirits under the care of the State, have already practically demonstrated their happy influence. Drunkenness has perceptibly diminished, debauchery, with its inevitable consequences, has given place to a more regular use of alcohol, offences and crimes provoked by drunkenness have become rarer. Nor has the usefulness of the reform been limited to the preservation of health and good morals; it exercises a salutary effect upon the material resources of the people. This economic progress is confirmed both by the increase of the fiscal receipts and by the inflow of deposits to the savings banks, a double phenomenon which is to be observed in the four Eastern Provinces (Perm, Oufa, Samara, and Orenbourg) since the new regulations as to spirituous liquors have been in force there. . . .

Another point that is not without importance is, that the establishment of the monopoly has been followed by improved influx of yearly redemption payments (debts exclusively owing by the peasants) and even by the settlement of arrears due on these same annuities. . . . To estimate the financial results of the reform, we may base our calculations upon the experience gained during the years 1895-7 in the Eastern Provinces. In 1893, the year before the reform,¹ the amount of excise duty in these four provinces had been 11,600,000 roubles,² and the revenue from the licence duty 754,000 roubles, or a total of 12,354,000 roubles. If we take this last figure as the annual average of the revenue from drink, the triennial period 1895-7 should have given in the provinces of the East an income in round numbers of about 37,000,000 roubles. At the same time we must consider that the application of the new system has brought with it under the head of control of indirect taxes an increase of disbursements of about 694,000 roubles for the three years, and that this sum must be put to the debit of the monopoly. In consequence, in order that the passage from the old system to that of the new administration might be effected without injury to the Exchequer, it was necessary that the income from the

¹ The year 1893 has been chosen as the basis of comparison, and not the year 1894, which in the Eastern Provinces immediately preceded the application of the new *régime*, because the year 1893 had had an exceptional harvest, and consequently the figures of consumption in 1894 had been abnormally increased. On the other hand, just before the establishment of the regulations enormous sales of existing stocks had been made.

² Rouble=two shillings.

drink revenue should reach for the three years 1895-7, taken together, a total of 37,700,000 roubles. As a matter of fact, the revenue under the head of licences and as the net result of the work of the monopoly, making deduction for all expenses of purchase, of rectification and of sale generally (except the allowances to the local distillers)¹ amounted in 1895 to 16,844,000 roubles; in 1896 to 19,018,000 roubles, and in 1897 to 20,375,000 roubles; making a total of 56,237,000 roubles.

"Thus after the establishment of the monopoly the drink revenue in the East, from the commencement of the first triennial period, exceeded by 18,500,000 roubles the income which could have been obtained under the Excise system. It must be noted that the initial expenses of the establishment and organization of the monopoly only amounted for these provinces to a total of about 3,300,000 roubles. . . .

"Whilst attesting to Your Imperial Majesty the excellent effects of the reform on the material and moral state of the people, as well as its satisfactory results from a fiscal point of view, the Minister of Finance is far from pretending to affirm that the new organization in these districts where it has been in force has attained to all the perfection of which it is capable. Doubtless there is much to be done still in

¹ Before the reform these allowances to the local distillers were given in kind; that is to say, the distillers, instead of paying excise duty (ten roubles per vedro* of pure alcohol) on the total amount of their production, might, according to the greater or less importance of the distillery, send out free from duty from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 per cent. of the quantity of alcohol made by them.

* Vedro=2·7 of an imperial gallon.

this domain as regards the administration of the finance. Certain details of the reform have as yet been simply indicated; others must be remoulded or completed: the whole needs attentive management. Nevertheless this vast enterprise rests henceforward on a rational basis. Though profoundly convinced that the drink reform will not be slow to exercise a beneficent action on all parts of the Empire, yet the Minister of Finance expects that in its application it will be the most fruitful in the Central Provinces, where the actual evils of the trade in spirituous liquors are experienced with an intensity peculiar to the population of old Russian stock. So we must congratulate ourselves upon the decision adopted by the Council of the Empire to advance by one year the establishment of the monopoly in the Province of the region of Moscow."

CONCLUSION.

If it be thought that in the Russian Spirit Monopoly there is little that can be imitated in this country, the experiment is nevertheless exceedingly suggestive. That it has been entered into with an honest intention of lessening intemperance may be freely acknowledged, even by those who believe that the desire to obtain revenue from sales will ultimately defeat the moral objects of the measure. While it is true that the interest of the retailer in pushing sales has been almost destroyed, his place has been taken by the Government, and it is easy to see that, without constant vigilance, the administration of the law may fall into the hands of those who will care only to

bring about an immediate increase of revenue, and who, as officers of the State, will be armed with the power of modifying arrangements so as to increase consumption.

In this connection, it is necessary clearly to distinguish between two systems which are essentially different, and, indeed, directly antagonistic. The control of a monopoly trade by the State, whose revenue benefits by an increase and suffers by a reduction of sales, is as far removed as possible from the local control of a monopoly trade by a body of men who can have no interest in its extension, and whose reason for association with it is that they may restrict sales. In the former case, the inducement of the private trader to increase sales is transferred to the State; in the latter case, if the necessary safeguards are provided, the element of interest in sales by those who control it, is destroyed.¹

Under the Russian Spirit Monopoly, the consumption of spirits on the premises has been largely done away with. Sales on credit, or in exchange for agricultural produce, clothes, etc., have been stopped,² and

¹ The power of law, *i.e.* of the arrangements of a community, to affect consumption is strikingly illustrated in the earlier history of Russian licensing. From 1826 to 1862 what has been called the "farming system" was in force, under which the farming companies had the strongest interest in pushing sales. They succeeded, according to the Consular Report, "in bringing the consumption of spirits in Russia to exactly double what it had been under the preceding system."

² "In the dram shop, the proprietor was usually willing to supply drink on credit, advance it on wages owing, or exchange it for agricultural produce, clothes, etc."—*Foreign Office Report, (Miscellaneous Series) No. 465, 1898.*

a great reduction has been made in the number of places licensed for the sale of spirits. But perhaps the most significant feature of the experiment is the fresh indication it affords of the growing sense on the part of civilized States that the liquor traffic is of so dangerous a character that it cannot safely be entrusted to the private trader, and also that it is irrational to let the profits of this monopoly pass into private hands.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA STATE MONOPOLY.¹

THE case of South Carolina affords another illustration, under a different form, of the principle of State Monopoly.

Prior to 1893 "the principle of local option and prohibition were both applied, the former to the traffic in cities, towns and villages having charters, the latter to all the territory of the State outside of such municipalities."² On July 1, 1893, however, a State monopoly, known as the Dispensary System, which had been enacted by the South Carolina legislature in 1892, came into force. Under this Act, which was re-enacted with various Amendments in 1895, 1896 and 1897, the sale of all beverages containing alcohol is made a State monopoly. The saloon has been abolished,

¹ In 1890 the total population of South Carolina was 1,151,149 (462,008 whites and 689,141 coloured). The foreign-born inhabitants numbered only 54 per cent. of the whole. The urban population is small. Only 5 cities have each more than 5,000 inhabitants, and the aggregate population of these five is only 84,459.

² See communication from the Governor of South Carolina. *Report of the Royal Canadian Commission*, 1895, p. 865.

and its place taken by dispensaries, where liquor can only be obtained in bottles for consumption off the premises.

The existing Act provides for the establishment of a State board of control of five members, elected by the General Assembly, and of State and county dispensaries; as well as for the appointment, by the board of control, of a State Commissioner from whom all liquors sold by the dispensers must be purchased.

All spirits are required to be put up in packages of not less than one pint nor more than five gallons, and dispensaries are not allowed to sell except in such packages, nor may the packages be opened on the premises. Very similar restrictions are applied to the sale of malt liquors, which may not be sold in less quantity than one pint, nor for consumption on the premises.

The system had a twofold aim: (1) to reduce the evils of the liquor traffic by taking it out of private hands, and (2) to retain the whole of the profit for State and municipal purposes. It was anticipated that the dispensaries would yield a net annual profit of £100,000, but the total net profit actually realized (to the State, counties and towns) in the five-and-a-half years ending December 31st, 1898, during which the South Carolina Monopoly has been in force, has been £258,504. Dividing the five-and-a-half years into two equal periods, the profit in the first was at the rate of £31,949 per annum, and in the second at the rate of £62,052 per annum.¹ In 1892, prior to the

¹ *Report of the State Board of Control of the South Carolina Dispensary for the Fiscal Year 1898.*

establishment of the State monopoly, South Carolina had 613 bar-rooms, from which it derived a revenue of £43,074.¹

The proceeds of sales by the State commissioner go to the State, and are devoted to the public schools; those of sales by the dispensers, after payment of expenses, are equally divided between the county and the municipality. If the authorities of any town or city, in the judgment of the State board of control, do not enforce the law, the State board may withhold the profits going to such town or city, and use them to pay the State constables, or turn the profits into the county treasury.

It has been said that by this Act "all public inducements to tippling have been removed at a sweep, while it is possible for any sober adult to obtain what liquor he wishes." Many of the provisions of the Act are exceedingly stringent. For instance, before selling or delivering any intoxicating liquors to any person, a request must be presented to the county dispenser, printed or written in ink, stating that he, or she, is of age, giving the residence of the signer, and stating for whom or whose use the liquor is required, and the quantity and kind wanted. This request must be signed by the applicant, and attested by the county dispenser or his clerk, who receives and files the request. If the applicant is known to be intemperate, the request must be denied. Sales are only to be made during the daytime, and the liquor is not to be drunk on the premises.

The Governor of the State in 1896 said that the Act

¹ *The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects*, p. 149.

"has had a hard road," and another American speaks of "its stormy and dramatic existence." In the year following its original enactment, the friction produced by attempts at executing the law culminated in conflicts which on three separate occasions led to loss of life. The extraordinary energy and the iron will of Governor Tillman alone carried the measure through this early opposition. Then it encountered even greater perils in the law courts, the Act in one or other of its forms having been twice condemned as unconstitutional. In 1894, from April 21st to August 1st, the traffic was almost unrestricted, and the same state of things prevailed during some months of 1897 and 1898.

By the decision of May, 1898, the Supreme Court has declared that "the dispensary acts in their essential features are valid, that is furnish a proper and constitutional method of regulating the liquor traffic through the domestic police power, and that the State may take sole charge of the business."

The present Governor of the State looks hopefully to the future. In his address to the General Assembly on January 10th, 1899, he said: "The demoralization produced by the various causes mentioned can be readily overcome in time, and the law will work more successfully and be obeyed more willingly as time goes by. Our efforts should be especially directed to perfecting the system in its administrative features."

As will be seen by the annexed table, which gives the figures for the entire State and also for the two principal cities, the reduction in the number of places for the sale of drink, under the operation of the Act, was very great.

	Population, 1890.	Bars in 1892.	Dispensaries in 1895.
State of South Carolina.	1,151,149	613	81 ¹
City of Charleston . .	54,955	285	7
„ Columbia . . .	15,352	38	4

No compensation was given to those whose licences were suppressed, the Act simply providing that “no licence for the sale of spirituous liquors now authorized to be granted by municipal authorities shall be of any force or effect after June 30th, 1893.”

ARRESTS FOR DRUNKENNESS.

The following table gives the arrests for drunkenness, and for drunkenness and disorderly conduct, in Charleston and Columbia since 1888. It will be seen that in the two years following the introduction of the system the arrests show a considerable decline. In Charleston and Columbia the figures are as under:

Arrests for drunkenness, and for drunkenness and disorderly conduct.

CHARLESTON.				COLUMBIA.			
	Per 1,000 inhabitants.						
1888	715	or	13·25				
1889	868	„	15·93				
1890	801	„	14·57				
1891	849	„	15·31	1891	247	or	15·85
1892	690	„	12·33	1892	201	„	12·71
1893 ²	412	„	7·29	1893	187	„	11·66
1894	459	„	8·06	1894	182	„	11·19

In other cities, the information collected shows

¹ In 1893 the number had grown to 93.

² The Dispensary System came into force in July, 1893.

conclusively that the arrests for drunkenness have fallen off from one-third to one-half under the dispensary law.¹

RIGHT OF LOCAL VETO.

Section 7 of the Dispensary Law, as approved March, 1897, provides that "When the county board designates a locality for a dispensary, twenty days' public notice of which shall be given, it shall be competent for a majority of the voters of the township in which such dispensary is to be located, to prevent its location in such township by signing a petition or petitions addressed to the county board, requesting that no dispensary be established in that township." The County Board is, moreover, precluded from placing a dispensary in any county, town, or city wherein the sale of alcoholic liquors was prohibited by law prior to July 1st, 1893, unless one-fourth of the qualified voters of such county, town, or city petition to have a dispensary therein, in which case an election is held, and if a majority of the ballots cast be found and declared to be for a dispensary, then a dispensary may be established.

RESULTS OF THE SYSTEM.

The merits of the Dispensary System are not far to seek. It reduces the number of licensed places, shortens the hours of sale, stops sales on credit, and furnishes pure liquor. But the evils which sooner or later are likely to attend any State monopoly, under which the revenue benefits by an increased, and suffers by a diminished sale, are already manifest.

¹ *The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects*, p. 178.

The "Committee of Fifty," in their report on the system, say:—

"The authorities pursue the policy of establishing dispensaries whenever a favourable opportunity offers. Two questions only are considered: Will the proposed Dispensary pay, and can the necessary number of voters be found in favour of it?"¹ Even the elimination of private profit from the sale is not completely secured, inasmuch as the county dispensers have their salaries fixed according to the amount of business done.²

As compared with the Scandinavian system (to be described in a later chapter), to which the South Carolina system bears a superficial resemblance,³ the inferiority of the latter is strongly seen. Under the Scandinavian system, the State has no power to open a single public-house. Its principle is that of local management and control. In Norway, especially, the intelligence and right feeling of the local community is enlisted in the struggle with intemperance. The Norwegian companies engage in the traffic in order to control and restrict it. In South Carolina, on the other hand, the very conception of the measure is said to have "reposed on the idea of relief to the taxpayers." Again, one of the signal merits of the Scandinavian system is that it effects a divorce between politics and the drink traffic. The Governor of South Carolina, in his message to the General

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 162.

² *Ibid.*, p. 168.

³ In its essence, the South Carolina system is more nearly related to the Russian Spirit Monopoly, the regulation of the traffic in both cases being under centralized State control.

Assembly January 10th, 1899, referring to the creation of the new State Board of Control, consisting of five members elected by the General Assembly in place of a Board composed of the Governor, the Comptroller General, and the Attorney General, said the new system "has now been in force three years, and, in my opinion, it has failed to accomplish the purposes of its advocates. The idea was to divorce the Dispensary System from politics and to put it under a strictly business management. No such result has followed. It is notorious that the Dispensary is as much or more in politics than it ever was."

Yet with all its faults the Dispensary System is a great improvement upon that which preceded it. The saloon has been abolished, and the sale in liquor confined to an "off" sale in packages. Whether in the towns this sale will supply the necessary safety-valve is a point which will be watched with great interest.

HIGH LICENCE.

THE scheme of licensing known as High Licence has claimed great attention in recent years, and has been adopted in many States of the Union, among others in Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Nebraska, and New York. The system came to the front at Nebraska in 1881, by the passing there of the "Slocumb Law," which fixed the State licensing fees at 500 dollars for saloons in small towns, and double

that amount where the population exceeded 10,000, together with a bond for 5,000 dollars.

The most conspicuous instances of its working are, however, to be found in Pennsylvania, where the Brooks' Licensing Act came into force on June 1st, 1888, and in New York State, where the "Liquor Tax Law," commonly known as the "Raines Excise Law," was enacted in 1896.

HIGH LICENCE IN PENNSYLVANIA.

The leading provisions of the Brooks' Act are that the granting of licences shall be left in the hands of the Court of Quarter Sessions, which shall issue whatever number it may deem necessary, with full power to revoke any, or all, at the end of each twelve months; that each licensee shall pay a fee of from 1,000 dollars (£200) downwards, according to the size of the town or city in which he carries on his trade; and furthermore, besides his giving a personal bond for 2,000 dollars (£400), two owners of real estate, living in the immediate neighbourhood, shall also become bondsmen to the same amount each as sureties for his strictly keeping the law. To these clauses are added the prohibitions usual in most of the States against selling on Sundays, or election days, or to minors or intoxicated persons. As a result of the passing of the Act, the number of licensed houses in Philadelphia was reduced from 5,773 in 1887 to 1,343 in 1888. This enormous reduction was made without any compensation being paid. The following table, compiled from particulars specially obtained from the Police Department of Philadelphia, shows the number

of licences issued in Philadelphia from 1887 to 1897, together with the arrests for drunkenness and other offences:—

DESCRIPTION.	Before High Licence.	HIGH LICENCE.									
	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897
Licences issued . . .	5,773	1,343	1,204	1,173	1,253	1,388	1,632	1,662	1,677	1,662	1,638
Arrests for drunkenness	34,037	24,923	20,097	24,661	24,785	26,194	28,095	28,230	27,077	23,107	25,174
Arrests for other offences	57,944	46,899	42,673	49,148	53,184	52,944	57,297	61,478	60,347	58,072	62,628

Yet, notwithstanding the reduced number of saloons, the revenue showed a decided increase. Before the passing of the Act the licence fees in Philadelphia amounted to 300,000 dollars; in 1897, with 4,135 less licences, the fees amount to 1,638,000 dollars.

The advantages claimed for high licence are, briefly: First, the extinction of a great number of the worst and lowest dram-shops. Secondly, better police control, owing to the diminution of numbers, and the concentration (to some extent) of the trade in the business centre of the town, where it is most profitable. Thirdly, better observance of the law by licence-holders, from fear of the pecuniary loss involved in the forfeiture of their licences. Fourthly, suppression of unlicensed liquor-sellers by the licensed, as an act of self-protection.¹

Experience has shown that some of these contentions are just; but in Philadelphia, at least, the

¹ Fanshawe, *Liquor Legislation in the United States and Canada*, p. 64.

suppression of unlicensed liquor-sellers by the licensed is not realized. A policeman having an intimate acquaintance with all sections of the City, questioned as to the number of "speak-easies" (that is, unlicensed saloons), replied unhesitatingly, "There are at least six thousand." "While this statement must be regarded as exaggerated, it is beyond doubt that the illegal places exceed by not a little the number of licensed retailers."¹ Again, in Pittsburg, Mr. McKenzie says that, under high licence, there were in 1891 probably seven "speak-easies" to each licensed house. "These places were permitted to exist because of the political power of their owners, and the police did not dare proceed against them."² It is also pointed out that in places where the adoption of the system was at first succeeded by a large diminution of licences, the number has since shown a constant tendency to rise again.³ This evil might, however, be obviated if the number of licences to be granted were limited by statute.

THE LIQUOR TAX ("RAINES") LAW OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

This law, which is one of high licence and local option, was passed by the State legislature in March, 1896. It deals only with quantities of less than five gallons of liquor, a term which, as used, includes spirits, wine, and beer. The circumstances of the

¹ *The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects*, p. 251. Most of the illegal vendors restrict their business to the Sunday hours, and carry it on in private houses.

² *Sober by Act of Parliament*, pp. 72, 73.

³ Fanshawe, *op. cit.* p. 62.

adoption of the measure by the House of Assembly are so unusual that they may be reproduced here. On the day after the Bill passed the Senate, the Republican leader (Mr. O'Grady) gave notice in the Assembly that, on the following day, he would move to suspend a certain number of Bills which he specified, the practical effect of which would be to make it possible to pass the Bill into law on the same day. Accordingly, on March 12th, "the rules were suspended by practically a party vote, and then followed a scene which had never been witnessed in Albany before. It was known that the supporters of the Bill numbered more than eighty and less than ninety, a sufficient number to pass the measure but not enough to transact business by themselves, as the constitution provides that three-fifths of either House must be present while bills are on their final passage. Realizing this, the Democrats and Republicans opposed to the Bill commenced to slip out by ones and twos, intending to break the quorum. The majority leaders noticed the sharp practice, however, and Mr. O'Grady asked for a call of the House. The absentees came flocking in, and as soon as they were inside the doors were locked, and none of them were allowed out again. During the rest of the afternoon the assemblymen inside remained close prisoners, while the sergeant-at-arms and his assistant were busily scouring the corridors and committee rooms in search of the absentees. Whenever any were found they were taken back to the assembly and escorted to their places, while a close watch was kept to see that they did not get away again. The Democrats raved wildly at such treatment, and at one time had almost decided

to break down the door and get out any way, claiming that they had a perfect right to do so. The cooler heads among the minority, however, pointed out that while such a course might be justifiable, yet it would only lead to further trouble and would reflect upon the Democracy. This view of the case was accepted and no violence was attempted. At six o'clock in the evening a vote was reached, and the Bill was passed by a vote of 84 to 58."¹

The Bill passed in this extraordinary manner has, however, many characteristics of a strong and well-thought-out measure. It abolishes all local boards having jurisdiction to issue licences for the sale of liquor, and places the whole matter under State supervision.

At the head of the new administration is placed a "State Commissioner of Excise," appointed by the Governor of the State with the advice and consent of the Senate, who is invested with large powers, and holds office for a term of five years. The State Commissioner appoints the whole of his administrative staff—secretary, deputy commissioners and special agents—whose number and salaries are, however, fixed by the Act. All officers appointed by the State commissioner may be removed by him.²

¹ *The Raines Excise Law*. Eagle Building, Brooklyn, New York.

² "The law centralizes in an unprecedented manner the control of the excise business in one man, the State commissioner. He is left the sole interpreter of the intent and scope of the law. . . . Such power and authority have never before been vested in one man under the liquor laws of any of our States."—*The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects*, Second Edition, 1893, p. 374.

The "Excise taxes" issued are of six grades, of which the chief may be defined thus:—

- (1) For sale on the premises, whether in hotel, restaurant, saloon, store, shop, or other place.
- (2) For sale off the premises in quantities of less than five gallons.
- (3) For sale by a duly licensed pharmacist upon the written prescription of a regularly licensed physician.
- (4) For sale upon any railway car, steamboat, or vessel.

The Excise taxes charged for the grades Nos. 1, 2 and 3 vary according to the size of the town in which the licence is issued. The charges are upon the following scale:—

City, Town, or Village, with a population of	Grade No. 1 "On" Sale.	Grade No. 2 "Off" Sale.	Grade No. 3 Sale by Pharm- acist.
	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars
1,500,000 or more.	800	500	100
Less than 1,500,000 but more than 500,000	650	400	75
500,000 " 50,000	500	300	50
" 50,000 " 10,000	350	200	30
" 10,000 " 5,000	300	100	20
" 5,000 " 1,200	200	75	15
" 1,200	100	50	10

The Excise tax under Grade 4 is 200 dollars for each car, steamboat, or vessel upon which traffic is carried on.

Subject to the adoption by any place of local option, no limit is put upon the number of licences of any class that shall be issued, reliance being apparently placed upon the amount of the excise tax to furnish the needful check. Any one desiring to obtain a licence must submit a signed and sworn statement to the county treasurer or official deputy commissioner in which shall be stated, among other less important matters, the facts as to his citizenship, the premises to be used, the specific location of the bar, that he has not been convicted of a felony, has not had a former licence revoked, and that he is not interested in any unlawful traffic or occupation. The deputy commissioner testifies to the formal correctness of such application, but appears to make no further inquiry. "All comers are practically served alike—they pay the money and take the certificate." It is claimed that all official favouritism in the granting of licences is thus prevented, and this is true with respect to the new Excise Department. But this absence of careful discrimination in the granting of licences makes it possible for the most objectionable characters to secure the protection of a licence or certificate, and places a dangerous responsibility upon the police. It is stated that the temptation to them to enter into corrupt bargains with the certificate-holders "has not been lessened one whit."

The Liquor Tax Law has not had a marked effect upon the number of licences issued. The figures for the last year of the old system and the first year of the new are as under:—

	No. of Licences, 1895-96.	No. of Certifi- cates, 1896-97.	Inhabitants to each	
			Li- cence.	Certi- ficate.
In counties out- side cities . } .	10,320	10,547	240	235
In cities	22,937	19,481	175	206
For the whole State . . . } .	33,257	30,028	195	216

In the rural districts it will be seen that the number of inhabitants to each licence is five less, and in the cities thirty-one more, than before the new Act came into force. Many small dealers were crushed, but not without advantage to those remaining. Nearly all the small beer and ale shops in the city of New York, numbering about 400, were driven out of business "by the sixteen-fold increase of the tax."

Comparative data with respect to drunkenness are unattainable.

Among the regulations embodied in this Act, the following may be noticed:—

- (1) Liquor may not be sold or given to any minor under the age of eighteen years.
- (2) Sunday closing is absolute.
- (3) Liquor may not be sold on the day of any general or special election within one-quarter of a mile of any voting place while the poll is open.
- (4) No girl or woman not a member of the family of the licence holder may serve or sell any liquor on the premises.
- (5) It is forbidden to have any curtain, screen, or blinds, opaque or coloured glass, that obstructs

the view of the bar from the road in front of it.

LOCAL OPTION CLAUSE.

The Act provides that before any licences are issued, the will of the qualified electors in each town (including townships in rural districts) shall be ascertained, by ballot. The four questions submitted to the electors in all the towns in the State are, whether they will or will not authorize—

- (1) Sale of liquor to be drunk on the premises.
- (2) Sale of liquor not to be drunk on the premises.
- (3) Sale of liquor by a pharmacist on physician's prescription.
- (4) Sale of liquor by hotel-keepers.

The question is, in each case, decided by a bare majority of the votes polled; but if the majority of the votes cast on the fourth question submitted are in the affirmative, a hotel licence is granted, even though a negative vote has been recorded against the first question.

The same questions "are to be again submitted at the annual town meetings held in every second year thereafter, provided at least 10 per cent. of the electors request a resubmission of the question, by a written petition, signed by them before a notary public." ¹ Sixty-two towns voted in 1896, and the balance of 880 towns in 1897. Of the 942 towns in the State there voted—

¹ *The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects*, Second Edition, 1898, p. 364.

For no sales whatever	262
For sales under all four propositions . .	359
For sales by pharmacists and hotels only	117
For sales by hotels only	106
For sales by pharmacists only	34
The balance (divided variously upon the different questions) being	64

There are twenty-six fewer "no licence" towns than when the law took effect.

A great abuse arose as soon as it was found that the Sunday closing requirement of the Act could be circumvented by the liberty granted to the keeper of a hotel to sell liquor to his guests with their meals, or in their rooms on Sundays. "When it finally became settled that, in order to sell liquor on Sundays with impunity, it was necessary only to run an establishment having a few extra rooms and facilities for serving a sandwich, the 'Raines Law hotels' sprung up like mushrooms. By November, 1896, the police of New York City reported to a Senate committee, appointed to investigate the working of the new law, the existence of 2,378 liquor-selling hotels, of which 2,105 were stated to be offsprings of the law, and the remaining 273 *bonâ-fide* hotels. In Brooklyn the hotel list had swelled from thirteen to 1,474, and in other cities a similar condition prevailed. . . . 'Raines Law hotels' became the jest of the country."¹ The rapid extension of clubs also threatened the

¹ *The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects*, Second Edition, 1898, p. 369.

working of the Act. "Few drinking clubs are, however, left since the law was amended (in 1897), but the saloon hotels remain prominent institutions, and present the general characteristics already described. A Brooklyn brewer is authority for the statement that one-third of his customers have taken to letting rooms for immoral purposes. The extent to which saloon hotels give shelter to the social evil is freely commented upon by citizens not otherwise particularly observant."¹

FINANCIAL RESULTS.²

Total receipts under Liquor Tax Law from October 1st, 1896, to September 30th, 1897, inclusive	\$12,267,012 . 59
Rebates paid during above period . . .	\$517,971 . 09
County treasurers' fees	61,488 . 31
Expenses of Depart- ment	263,647 . 43
	<hr/>
	843,106 . 83
Leaving a balance over all disburse- ments of	<hr/> \$11,423,905 . 76

Of this amount, one-third goes to the State and two-thirds to the towns and cities.

Comparing these results with those obtained under the old law, we find that—

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 399.

² *Second Annual Report of the Commissioner of Excise*, 1897-98.

The total receipts under the old law for twelve months ending April 30th, 1896, were	\$3,172,376 . 58
Less expenses of collection for same period	252,782 . 77
Net revenue	<hr/> \$2,919,593 . 81

The increase thus shown in the annual revenue amounts to \$8,504,312, being an increase at the rate of 291 per cent.

The "Committee of Fifty," in summing up the evidence upon the financial results, say that "the tax feature of the law has demonstrated beyond peradventure that the weight of tax which can be borne by the liquor trade has not yet reached its limit, and that a reduction of drink places follows very nearly in proportion as the tax rate is raised. These are lessons of positive benefit, and new in the State of New York."

The measure has both the merits and defects of a highly centralized system. Though the power of veto is conceded, it is not likely, judging by the experience of other American States, to be employed in the larger towns, and any regulations for *control* of the traffic are placed beyond the direct reach of the people. If it be a mark of the best licensing systems to enlist in the interests of Temperance the thought and effort of good citizens, and to create a field for the fruitful exercise of their activities, then, judged by any test of the kind, the Liquor Tax Law of New York is signally deficient.

The ten years during which the High Licence

System has been carried on in Pennsylvania have, however, been sufficient to show the general effect of the system. Its good results are manifest at first, its dangerous tendencies are seen later. Some of these have been already mentioned.

EVILS OF HIGH LICENCE.

Perhaps the gravest impeachment brought against High Licence is that it "leaves the saloon almost as great a power in politics as ever," because the elimination of the poorer and weaker traders concentrates the business in the hands of those who are best qualified to work it for their own advantage.

The "Committee of Fifty" give detailed and abundant evidence of the connection under high licence of the liquor interest with politics. A few passages may be quoted.

"The question, Do not the police try to suppress the illegal selling? must be answered both with a yes and no. Raids are made, in some years a good many, but never unless there is full evidence of guilt and always upon warrant. On the other hand, there is proof that the small fish are caught and the big let go. Instances have appeared where detectives detailed to collect evidence about 'speak-easies' have reported their non-existence, in direct contradiction to the testimony of reputable citizens. When a ward leader undertook to defy the law, he was permitted to run an establishment differing but little in appointments and size from an ordinary saloon. When the complainants grow too clamorous, it often hap-

pens that the police will warn the offender, and give him time for exit. The friendly relations between police officers and 'speak-easy' keepers is shown by the fact that strangers may be introduced to the resorts of the latter by policemen in person. It is vain to deny that the police profit from the illicit trade. It is not understood that blackmail is levied systematically or on a large scale. Weekly stipends of from five dollars to twenty-five dollars, according to the business of the particular place and the other illicit practices accompanying the sale of liquor, are mentioned as being paid, but in a roundabout way. . . . Those highest in command are certainly above suspicion, but they are too much entangled by party consideration to act in the matter, even if aware of the true state of things." ¹

"It is not intended to convey the impression that all the magistrates are embarrassed by political obligations, or that all are unfitted to properly discharge their great responsibilities; but it is a significant fact that some of those who have been most vigorous in dealing with liquor cases have been 'turned down' when seeking a renomination. One listens in vain for an expression of thorough confidence in the magistrates as a body." ² It is to be observed that in Philadelphia the "fear of the dealers is not so much of interference on the part of the municipal authorities as of the Law and Order Society. By common consent, the closer observance of the law is to be

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 252, 253.

² *Ibid.*, p. 256.

credited chiefly to the unremitting labour of this organization."

Mr. McKenzie, writing in 1896, gives similar evidence. "*The great fault*," he states, "*of the high licence plan is that it leaves the saloon almost as great a power in politics as ever.*"

OTHER DEFECTS.

To this fault should, however, be added two others. First, the system gives the locality a direct interest in the local drink trade. In Philadelphia, as we have seen, the licence fees which before the introduction of High Licence amounted to £60,000, have since risen to £327,600.¹

The net revenue in the State of New York under the Raines Excise Law was in the first year £2,284,781, of which two-thirds, or £1,523,188, went to the cities or towns, or townships *in which the traffic was carried on*. A locality which, under the Local Option clauses, decided to have no licences within its limits would thus have no share in the two-thirds proceeds of the Excise tax which went to the municipalities. It is unquestionably right that the licence holder should pay a sum commensurate with the monopoly handed over to him, but it cannot be wise that the people in any city or village should have a direct monetary interest in the traffic.

¹ Even this figure is dwarfed by the revenue received in Chicago and New York. The Foreign Office Report (Miscellaneous Series), No. 324, 1894, says: "The number of saloons in Chicago (under High Licence) is 7,157, bringing in a revenue of £715,700." The share which in 1897 fell to the City of New York under the Raines Law was £718,970.

Secondly, it is to be remembered that the interest of the ordinary dealer in pushing sales is, under High Licence, intensified.

In considering how far these objections would apply to the introduction of a High Licence System into this country, it may be admitted that some of the evils which have resulted from it in the United States would not be likely to be reproduced here, and that others might possibly be obviated by modifications of the system. But, under it, the menace of the trade to our political and municipal life would continue. For if the number of licensed houses were reduced, the individual power of those that remained would be greater. The divorce between politics and the drink traffic, without which no scheme of licensing reform can be satisfactory, would not be effected.

Moreover, in this country, as in the United States, the inducement of the licence holder to press sales would be increased, and once again we should realize the futility of attempting to control a trade while placing those who conduct it under the strongest temptation both to bring about its extension and to prevent the introduction of salutary reform.

THE SWISS ALCOHOL MONOPOLY.

The Swiss Federal Alcohol Monopoly, which came into force in 1887, applies to the importation, manufacture, and wholesale distribution of spirits in quantities of not less than about forty gallons. As the Act leaves the retail sale untouched, a consideration of the measure is outside the scope of this volume.

CHAPTER V

The Scandinavian Experiments

In the preparation of this chapter, the writers have relied, to a considerable extent, upon information obtained by them in the course of personal investigations in Sweden and Norway in June and July, 1898. These investigations have been supplemented by a close examination of the numerous sources of information available on the subject.

The purpose of the chapter is not so much to give an account of the Swedish and Norwegian systems—a work which has already been well carried out by many writers—as to indicate the bearing of the Scandinavian experiments upon the Temperance problem in this country.

For the English Equivalents of the Foreign Moneys and Measures named in this chapter the reader is referred to page 597.

THE liquor legislation of Sweden and Norway during the past hundred years affords a remarkable illustration of the power of law both to stimulate and to lessen the consumption of alcoholic drinks.

Amidst much that is the subject of controversy in connection with the Scandinavian liquor laws, the broad facts are not disputed that, in Sweden, the consumption of spirits per head of the population is not more than about a third of what it was in 1850; and that in Norway the annual consumption of spirits is only one-third of what it was in 1876, and probably not more than a seventh of what it was in 1833. Norway is, indeed, now the most temperate country in

Europe.¹ These results have been brought about by the joint action of Temperance effort and of wise national legislation; the former could have done little without the latter, and in both Sweden and Norway its main service has been in creating the public opinion which was essential alike for the enactment, the enforcement, and the progressive improvement of wise and strong public law.

It may be noted here that, until a comparatively recent date, spirits² in both Sweden and Norway were the "only alcoholic beverage of the lower classes; the consumption of beer being almost confined to the upper and middle classes, and rarely used by them to the extent of intemperance." Beer was, in fact, regarded as a Temperance beverage. Spirit-drinking has been a national custom in Sweden for three hundred years.

SWEDEN.

THE extraordinary consumption of spirits in Sweden throughout a large portion of the first half of the present century was due to what was practically free trade in the manufacture as well as in the sale of spirits. At the commencement of the nineteenth century it was enacted that in Sweden the right of distillation should go with the soil; *i.e.*, it should

¹ See p. 77.

² The native spirit of the Scandinavians is commonly called "bränvin," generally translated into English as "brandy." When, therefore, in this chapter the word is used, it must be understood as referring to a liquor distilled from potatoes or corn, and containing from 40 per cent. to 50 per cent. of alcohol.

belong to those who possessed or cultivated land, and ten years later the privilege was extended to tenants and other persons resident in the country, if the owner of the estate gave them leave. As a result of this legislation, the number of stills in Sweden paying licence had in 1829 reached the enormous number of 173,124, being at the rate of one to every seventeen of the population. In 1895-6 the number was 132. Mr. David Carnegie, of Gothenburg, in his evidence before the Lords' Committee on Intemperance (1879), speaking of Sweden, said: "When the home distillation was allowed, it was a miserable state of things. One peasant would set his still going one week, and invite his neighbours to come in, and they were sure to do so, and all would get drunk together, and the following week his neighbours would begin."

In 1855, according to Dr. Sigfrid Wieselgren, the very careful and well-informed Director of Prisons in Sweden, about 5.9 (English) gallons of native brandy were consumed per head of a population of about 3,500,000. At that time, as now, women rarely indulged in brandy drinking. Estimating, then, that one-half, or 1,750,000, of the population were females, and that of the other half about 600,000 were under the drinking age, which may be put at fifteen years, only about 1,150,000 of the total population could be reckoned as brandy drinkers. The average yearly consumption of the latter would then be 18 (English) gallons.

The combined effects of free distillation and free sale were appalling. "The very marrow of the nation was sapped; moral and physical degradation, insanity, poverty, and crime, family ties broken up, brutal

habits—all those grim legions that ever range themselves under the banner of intemperance—took possession of the land.”¹

It has been stated² that for the ten years between 1841 and 1850, no fewer than 36·46 per cent. of the conscripts were unfit for military service. The following figures, supplied by the Statistical Department of Stockholm, show the number of conscripts rejected on account of unfitness for military service from 1831 to 1890:—

1831-1840	35·7 per cent.
1841-1850	36·4 ”
1851-1860	35·7 ”
1861-1870	27·8 ”
1871-1880	23·7 ”
1881-1890	20·4 ”

The wretched condition of the country produced at last a powerful Temperance movement, which resulted, twenty years later, in the epoch-making law of 1855. Peter Wieselgren, Dean of Gothenburg, a large-hearted, learned, and eloquent man, was the leader of the popular movement. The Swedish Temperance Society was established in 1837, and soon hundreds of branch societies were formed. More and more pledged themselves to abstain from spirituous liquors, literature was issued, medical men took up the cause; and petitions began to pour in upon the king, Oscar I., himself

¹ Sigfrid Wieselgren, *The Liquor Laws of Sweden, 1835 to 1885*.

² Whyte, *The Gothenburg and Bergen Public-house Systems*.

a champion of Temperance. It is important to observe that the struggle was not confined to members of the Temperance League, but enlisted the support of moderate consumers.

The Law of 1855 was a simple measure; one section of it dealt with the *distillation*, and the other with the *sale* of spirits. Provision was made that the old stills for domestic use should be abolished ¹ and replaced by distilleries on a larger scale, and subject to a higher excise duty. With regard to sales, the Act gave to every commune the power to decide with regard to both the Bar ("On") and Retail ("Off") sale, "not only in what manner, and within what limits, the trade should be carried on, but also whether it might take place at all within its jurisdiction." ²

The effect of the new law in the rural districts ³ was soon apparent. Dr. Wieselgren says:—

"Before 1855, brandy could be bought in almost every cottage; in 1856, one might travel through whole provinces without finding a single place where it was sold."

There are in Sweden about 2,400 rural parishes, and it is estimated that in 1856—*i.e.*, in the year immediately following the passing of the Act—more than

¹ In 1860 there still remained 2,889 distilleries, but the following year the *small* distilleries had ceased to exist, and in 1861 the number was reduced to 590. In 1896 the number was 132.

² For method of effecting local option see Appendix, p. 572.

³ In a letter to the present writers, under date February, 1899, Dr. Wieselgren says, "The towns as commercial places found themselves not able to make use of their right."

1,800 of these decided to have no places for either the "On" or "Off" sale of spirits.¹

DENSITY OF POPULATION IN SWEDEN.

In view of the close connection which has already been shown to exist between density of population and the success or failure of certain forms of Temperance legislation, it may be well, before proceeding further, to examine the distribution of population in Sweden.

The country stretches for nearly one thousand miles between latitude 55° and 69° N. But the entire population in 1896 was less than five millions,² distributed at the rate of 29 persons to the square mile.

The growth and distribution of the population are illustrated by the following figures:—

	Number of Persons to the Square Mile.
1820	15
1850	20
1870	24
1896	29

In England and Wales there are 497 persons to the

¹ The total number of Spirit Licences in Rural Sweden in 1856 and in 1895-6 was as under:—

YEAR.	Retail "Off" Licences.	Ordinary Bar Licences sub- ject to opera- tion of Local Veto.	"Privileged" Bar Licences conferred for one or two Lives.	Casual Licences issued to tourist steam- boats and for resorts.
1856 . .	64	82	411	132
1895-6 . .	27	33	95	96

² POPULATION OF SWEDEN.

1800 . . .	2,347,303	1860 . . .	3,859,728
1810 . . .	2,377,851	1870 . . .	4,168,528
1820 . . .	2,584,690	1880 . . .	4,565,668
1830 . . .	2,888,082	1890 . . .	4,784,981
1840 . . .	3,138,887	1896 . . .	4,962,568
1850 . . .	3,482,541		

square mile, in Belgium 533, in Switzerland 189, and in Russia 49.

PROPORTION OF URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION.

The division between the Rural and Urban population is as follows:—

1896.			
Urban ¹	. . .	1,003,798	. 20 per cent.
Rural	. . .	3,958,770	. 80 „
		<hr/>	
		4,962,568	

In 1875 the division was:—

1875.			
Urban	. . .	613,506	. 14 per cent.
Rural	. . .	3,769,785	. 86 „
		<hr/>	
		4,383,291	

Over the wide and thinly peopled districts of Sweden, in which 80 per cent. of its people live, the option of the communes in 1855-6 in so generally closing the places where spirits were sold appears to have been attended with excellent results. There has been little evasion of the law, no difficulty through the formation of drinking clubs, no driving of the traffic below the surface. Forty-three years have now passed since the policy was adopted, and through-

¹ The distinction between "Urban" and "Rural" in Sweden is technical and administrative, and many places are included in the category of towns which have extremely small populations. Adopting the United States line of division, and describing as Urban only populations numbering 8,000 and upwards, the division in Sweden in 1896 would be, Urban 16 per cent. and Rural 84 per cent.

out this period it has received, what is a high sanction for any law, the steady support of the people.

To prevent misconception as to the conditions under which this experiment has been carried on, it is to be noted that it was the *common traffic in the sale of spirits* that was stopped by the rural communes—there was no restriction upon their importation direct to the consumer.¹ The constant temptation to the use of spirits was removed, but no sumptuary law prohibiting their use was attempted.

The table on page 266 gives the *per capita* consumption of bränvin and beer in Sweden for a number of years. It is to be regretted that these statistics are less full than those of Norway, and that no figures are available, prior to 1887-8, showing the proportion of the national sales made by the bolags. Beer has been altogether outside the sphere of the company system.

THE PROBLEM OF THE TOWNS.

In Sweden, however, as in other countries, it was the intemperance of the towns which presented problems of extreme difficulty. In them the policy of prohibition was not adopted. Whether this arose, as has been suggested, from the large number of houses in the towns held upon what were called permanent tenures, or from a recognition of the impracticability of carrying out in the large towns a prohibition policy, is not apparent. The condition of the towns became deplorable, for in addition to the absence of

¹ With regard to the probable consumption of spirits in the rural districts of Sweden, see the corresponding question in connection with Norway discussed at page 311.

CONSUMPTION OF BRÄNVIN AND BEER IN SWEDEN.

	Brännvin 50 per cent. alcohol. Litres per head of the popu- lation.		Beer. Litres per head of the population.
1829	46 Estimated ¹	In 1829 the number of Stills	
1850	22 "	was 173,124.	
1856-60	9.5 Actual ²	By 1855 the number of Stills	
		had fallen to 3,481. Under	
		the law of 1855 power of	
		local option was given to	
		the communes.	
1861-65	10.6 "	. . . . .	11.1
1866-70	8.8 "	. . . . .	10.7
1870	10.3 "	. . . . .	11.1
1871	10.5 "	. . . . .	12.1
1872	10.9 "	. . . . .	15.2
1873	11.8 "	. . . . .	16.2
1874	13.5 "	. . . . .	15.1
1875	12.4 "	. . . . .	16.4
1876	12.4 "	. . . . .	15.9
1877	10.6 "	. . . . .	17.0
1878	10.5 "	. . . . .	20.5
1879	8.8 "	. . . . .	16.4
1880	8.1 "	. . . . .	16.2
1881	8.8 "	. . . . .	18.3
1882	8.0 "	. . . . .	15.8
1883	6.8 "	. . . . .	16.8
1884	8.0 "	. . . . .	20.8
1885	8.4 "	In the autumn of 1885 the	20.3
		minimum of a wholesale	
		sale was raised from 39¼	
		litres to 250 litres.	
1886	7.8 "	. . . . .	22.1
1887	7.0 "	. . . . .	22.7
1888	7.5 "	. . . . .	27.2
1889	6.2 "	. . . . .	28.2
1890	7.0 "	. . . . .	27.4
1891	6.4 "	. . . . .	30.9
1892	6.5 "	. . . . .	30.8
1893	6.7 "	. . . . .	31.6
1894	6.9 "	. . . . .	33.0
1895	6.9 "	. . . . .	35.5
1896	7.2 "	. . . . .	42.4
1897	7.5 "	. . . . .

¹ The estimates for the years 1829 and 1850 are taken from a return drawn up by N. Sandell, quoted by Dr. Wieselgren in his *La Lutte contre l'Alcoolisme en Suède*. The various estimates differ widely. The only certain thing about the consumption of these years is that it was very great.

² The official statistics of the national consumption of brännvin

effective regulations for the control of the traffic there, the problem was further aggravated by the influx of customers from the neighbouring prohibition districts.

The Act of 1855 had, it is true, conferred upon municipalities the right, if they so desired, to transfer to a Company the whole of the bar and retail licences which would otherwise have been sold by auction to private licensees, but no municipality had, so far, availed itself of its powers in this direction. Thus it happened that in 1856 the towns possessed 584 "Off" and 1,170 "On" licences against 64 of the former and 493 of the latter in the rural districts.

Mr. Edwin Goadby, in his valuable pamphlet upon the Gothenburg Licensing System, writing of the condition of Gothenburg at this time, says:—

"It is the dark sky that brings the apostle and makes his background at the same time. The first Gothenburg apostle was Dr. Peter Wieselgren, Dean of the city. Moved by the misery about him, he got up a petition to the magistrates in 1862, signed by 8,800 persons, the majority of them being poor people, to their credit be it said, to prohibit the sale of spirits on Sundays and holidays, or to limit the sale to meal times. An eloquent report accompanied the petition. The magistrates said they could take no steps in the matter." In 1863, however, a new Communal law was passed by the Diet, and a real Town Council was formed. Another apostle then appeared, who still lives, Dr. S. A. Hedlund, editor of the Gothenburg *Handelstidning*.

date from 1855, but prior to 1870 can only be obtained in quinquennial periods.

He proposed that the pauperism of the town should be investigated by a Committee. It was appointed, and ably presided over by Mr. Oscar Ekman, and did its work thoroughly, reporting the next year, *i.e.* in 1865. "The committee found much moral and material degradation, poor dwellings, people in rags, public-houses evading the law as to selling food, 2,161 cases of conviction for drunkenness in 1864, and 104 cases of delirium tremens. Everything was traced to brandy, always brandy. There were 60 public-houses with spirit licences in existence, 50 of which were resorted to by the working classes. Holders transferred them and lived on the proceeds as a pension."¹

To remedy this state of things the Committee proposed that the authorities, making use of the right accorded them by the Act of 1855, should hand over the licences hitherto disposed of by auction to a company consisting of persons who would engage in the undertaking, not for the sake of profit but solely for the good of the working classes; that the shareholders should not derive the slightest profit from the concern, beyond the ordinary rate of interest for the capital invested, but that all profits accruing therefrom should be devoted to the welfare of the working classes, or transmitted to the town treasury. This proposal was accepted. Twenty highly respected firms and private individuals formed a Bolag or Company, which on October 1st, 1865, began its operations,

¹ Those who desire a detailed account of the formation of the Company, may be referred to *The Gothenburg System*, 1881, by Dr. Sigfrid Wieselgren, who is the highest authority upon matters connected with its history.

an example which was speedily followed in other towns.

Mr. James Whyte, the Secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance, in referring to the establishment of the Company System, says: "The Gothenburg 'Bolag,' or Company, was formed in the faith that a body of honest and intelligent men, deeply moved by the sins and sorrows of which the liquor traffic was the unfailing source, would, if they undertook to conduct the traffic for no profit or emolument of their own, but for the public good, be able to prevent, or at least to greatly mitigate, the terrible evils which experience has shown to be inseparable from the common sale of drink when carried on for private personal gain. I am convinced that the spirit in which the founders of the Bolag acted is worthy of the warmest commendation. They did what they could. They acted up to their convictions. *And their failures—for they have partially failed—are like those of other honest people, lights on the way of progress.*"

The last words, which the present writers have italicized, are both wise and timely. For the experience to be gained from the operation of the Company System in Sweden and Norway has been obscured by indiscriminate praise on the one hand, and by indiscriminate attack on the other. The experiment of taking the drink traffic out of private hands was a novel experiment attended with many difficulties, and no body of men, however able and honest, were likely, in the first instance, to see its full bearing, or to conduct it without making mistakes.

ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF THE COMPANY SYSTEM.

It may be well, before describing the working of the Company System in Gothenburg, briefly to consider what are its essential principles. If these are kept clearly in mind, it will enable us to determine how much of its success has been due to the system itself, and how far the imperfect results achieved are the consequence, either of a neglect of the fundamental principles of the system, or are due to accidental causes, local or temporary. This continual mental recurrence to the essential principles of the system is the more necessary, as, to quote Mr. Whyte, the Company System has only had "a very partial and imperfect trial in Gothenburg."

(a) *Elimination of Private Profit.*

There are important differences between the Company System in Sweden and the Company System in Norway, and in each country the different Companies have their special regulations; yet, in common parlance, the term "Gothenburg System" is used as descriptive of the whole—Gothenburg having been the first large place which adopted the Company System.¹ But the principle which underlies the

¹ As early, however, as 1850, a company had been founded in the small town of Falun on the principle of conducting the liquor traffic by a company, regardless of gain or advantage to its members, and later, at Jönköping, a company had been established for the sale of liquor over the bar, on practically the same foundation. It is interesting to know that these small experiments suggested the Company System to the framers of the Act of 1855.

entire Company System in Scandinavia is the *elimination of private profit from the sale of drink.*

The Gothenburg Committee, whose investigations led to the formation of the Company, stated in their report that, "The worst enemy of the morals and well-being of the working classes in this community is brandy. Yet it is not the intoxicating liquor only, and its moderate consumption, which causes demoralization and poverty; it is the disorder, evil temptations, and opportunities for every kind of iniquity with which public-house life abounds, that contribute mainly to this unhappy state of things. *Neither local enactments nor police surveillance can do much so long as public-houses are in the hands of private individuals, who find their profit in encouraging intemperance, without regard for age or youth, rich or poor.*"

The Prime Minister of Sweden put the same thought into different words. "It stands to reason," he said, "that when a private individual engages in the brandy trade, as well as in any other, his interests will induce him to sell as much as he can; whereas the Companies, if they properly fulfil their mission—and happily our country can boast of many such—need never be influenced by selfish motives."

(b) *Easy Enforcement of Law.*

But whilst the elimination of private profit from the sale is the central thought in the Company System, two subordinate considerations have a great place in its policy. It is often said that, in this country, what is needed is not so much any new law as the strict enforcement of those now in existence. Conscientious Watch Committees can doubtless do

much to prevent the more obvious violations of the law; although even in these cases, the very thoroughness of the effort made may tend to defeat the object in view. Mr. Chamberlain has recorded¹ how "the Watch Committee of the Town Council of Birmingham—finding that drunkenness was by far the most frequent offence in the force under their control, and that while they were compelled weekly to fine and dismiss constables for intoxication while on duty, the persons supplying them with drink escaped undetected and unpunished—determined, in February last, to appoint five special inspectors, carefully selected and highly paid, to see that the provisions of the Licensing Acts were carried out in the borough. Already this appointment has resulted in the prosecution of twenty licensed persons in two months for supplying drunken people and police constables on duty with drink, and for permitting gaming, against ten, the total number proceeded against for these offences in 1875. But the action of the Watch Committee has roused the bitter hostility of the publicans, who have held indignation meetings, and formed an electoral association to secure the return to the Town Council of representatives pledged to the support of the 'righteous privilege' of the liquor-seller to set the law at defiance. In boroughs where parties are evenly divided, it is too much to expect that either side will incur the reprobation of a powerful trade which furnishes one householder to every thirty, and each member of which boasts that he can bring five voters to the poll."

¹ *The Right Method with the Publicans* (1876), p. 7.

The reader will already have seen in the chapter on Prohibition how continually, and upon how large a scale, the drink-sellers in the United States are able to violate the laws for the regulation of the trade by the bribery of the police force, or by the capture of the local administration. Occasionally in this country, individuals undertake, at their own risk, to attempt to enforce the law; but the task is arduous, and accompanied with no little financial risk.¹

Under the Company System, all these difficulties

¹ On Saturday, the 11th of February, 1893, Miss M. E. Phillips, a Member of the Society of Friends, resident in Tottenham, saw a man, whom she believed to be very drunk, served in a public-house, and called the attention of a policeman to the fact, asking him to get her the man's name and address. The policeman told her he would have to report the case to the inspector. The inspector afterwards called on Miss Phillips and told her that the police would not take any action. She then took out a summons herself, but, when it was heard, the policeman swore that the man was sober, and that he had told Miss Phillips so. Ten other men were ready to swear that the man was sober, and the case was dismissed. Miss Phillips was then served with two writs, one for slander by the man whom she believed to have been drunk, and the other for slander and malicious prosecution by the publican. Acting under legal advice, Miss Phillips settled with the man; this case costing her about £55. In the case of the publican, who claimed £2,500, the trial took place in the Court of Queen's Bench before Mr. Justice Wills and a special jury, on the 364th day after the writ had been served. Miss Phillips obtained a verdict. But although costs followed the verdict, Miss Phillips was put to an outlay in connection with this case of about £100. It transpired in court that the publican had previously been convicted of selling drink to a drunken woman, and fined £10 and costs.

This case illustrates both the ruinous risk and the long harass and anxiety to which those subject themselves who seek the enforcement of the Licensing Laws.

are avoided, since the elimination of private profit has effectually destroyed the ordinary inducements to violate the law. Should a manager, for any cause, fail to carry out the bye-laws of the Company, his dismissal can instantly be effected. There is no laborious collection of legal evidence, no costly trial, no risk of a counter-charge, carrying heavy damages.

(c) *Progressive Reforms Facilitated.*

One other consideration of a general character may be mentioned here—Sunday closing, reduction of the number of licensed houses, the shortening of the hours for sale, and the non-serving of children, are reforms which the Temperance party in this country have at heart, and to secure which a laborious national agitation, extending over years, has not sufficed.

In Sweden and Norway, changes of this kind have been easily, almost noiselessly, accomplished. For when a Company has satisfied itself of the wisdom of any of these reforms, it becomes a mere matter of administration to give effect to them. The severance of private interest from the liquor traffic, together with its local administration, make such prompt changes possible. They could not have been so carried out had it been necessary to appeal to the Swedish Diet, and to consider the interests of private dealers.

Briefly, the elimination of private profit from the trade is the central principle of the Company System, while the power of enforcing the strict observance of bye-laws, and of quickly adapting regulations to local requirements are resultant practical benefits of great importance.

THE COMPANY SYSTEM IN GOTHENBURG.

Population—(1866) 47,332, (1875) 59,986, (1897) 117,534.

We now revert to the history of the Gothenburg Company, to which the town had handed over the licences hitherto disposed of at auction. The Company undertook to carry on the trade solely for the good of the working classes, without any view to private profit; the shareholders were to receive nothing beyond 6 per cent.¹ (the current rate of interest in the country in 1865) upon the capital invested, and all profits accruing from the sales were to be paid over to the Town Treasury.

(a) *Reduction in the Number of Licences.*

In 1865, 36 public-house licences were handed over to the Bolag, and as the terms of the remaining "On" licences expired, they also were transferred to

¹ Mr. Whyte summarily disposes of the charge that there was "any taint of greed or self-seeking" in the rate of interest charged. "It is mere nonsense," he says, "to talk of the 6 per cent., which was to be paid on the money actually advanced, as having been an object of any importance to the Company, which was composed of about twenty of the leading citizens in Gothenburg." "The total amount of capital to be employed was about £11,000, and only £6,900 has been called up. The yearly interest on that amount at 6 per cent. is only £414, or, on the average, about £21 a year to each shareholder. It is not to be thought of for a moment that the fear of having that paltry amount reduced a pound or two would prevent such men from doing their best to carry out the object for which the Company was formed—the promotion of sobriety in Gothenburg." See *The Gothenburg and Bergen Public-House Systems*, p. 15.

The current rate of interest in Sweden is now lower than in 1865, and, under the Act of May 24th, 1895, the interest paid to the shareholders must not exceed 5 per cent.

the Company; so that by 1868 the Company had acquired the whole number of 61 "On" licences of which the town had the disposal. The Company made use of these as follows:—

Appropriated for public-houses	27	
Transferred by Company to	} 16	
hotels, clubs, restaurants . .		
	—	
	43,	being one to
		every 1,172 of
		the population;
whilst the number not used was	18	
	—	
	61	

In 1896-7 the number of "On" licences was still 61, which were made use of as follows:—

Appropriated for public-houses	18	
Do. do. eating-houses	4	
Transferred by Company to	} 20	
hotels, clubs, restaurants . .		
	—	
	42,	being one to
		every 2,798 of
		the population;
whilst the number not used was	19	
	—	
	61	

It will thus be seen that, in its first year, the Bolag voluntarily abandoned 18 of its public-house licences and commenced operations with one public-house to every 1,172 of the population. Twenty-eight years later, when the population of Gothenburg had more than doubled, the number of public-houses had been

further reduced by one, being in 1896-7 at the rate of one to every 2,798 of the population. In many countries there have been sudden reductions in the number of licensed houses, but the point of special interest in the above figures lies in the evidence they afford of a persistent progressive policy maintained over a long term of years. The Bolag also holds 30 Retail ("Off") licences, 7 of which are used by itself and 23 sub-let to wine merchants. The licence of the latter does not permit the sale of bränvin within the city of Gothenburg in a smaller quantity than 55 gallons.¹ The number of "Retail" licences in relation to the population is considerably less than it was in 1874, when the Company first obtained possession of them.

(b) *Character of the Drink Shops.*

The ordinary dram shops of the Bolag are plainly furnished. There are no flaring gas-lights or brilliant mirrors; externally, many of the houses might be mistaken for offices, and even the stranger inquiring into the system may not infrequently pass them by without recognition.

¹ The intention of the licence was to forbid the sale of bränvin in the city except at wholesale, whilst allowing the sale of wine and "Superior Spirits." The present writers, in the course of their investigation, were informed that the terms of the licence are evaded and that the "cognac" sold by the wine merchants in litre bottles is the native spirit, coloured and strengthened. The litre bottles are sold at 1 kr. 65 öre (1s. 10d.). This sale is named as an important factor in the drunkenness of the city. If the facts are as thus represented, they call for the attention of the authorities of the Bolag. Bränvin is sold at 1 kr. 10 öre (1s. 2½d.) per litre, the customer supplying the bottle.

Mr. Chamberlain, referring to his own visit to Gothenburg in 1876, writes:¹—

“It would be impossible to imagine a greater contrast than is presented by the gin-palaces in some of our large cities and the unpretending buildings in which the trade is carried on in Gothenburg. After visiting a number of these houses, and finding them all of the same character, I said to the Chief of Police who was accompanying me: ‘I have seen enough of this sort of house. Now take me, if you please, to the worst house in the worst corner of Gothenburg.’ ‘You are there now,’ was his reply. ‘This house is on the quays frequented by the lowest grade of the maritime population. In old days it was the haunt of prostitutes and bad characters of every kind, and a constant scene of riot and disorder. You can judge for yourself of the change effected.’

“I can only say that the place in which I was then would compare favourably with any average public-house in any of our great cities. I gather from Dr. Gould’s report that the state of things has certainly not altered for the worse during the last eighteen years, for he says that gambling and immorality have been entirely disassociated from the public-house.”

Upon this last point, which is of great importance, the evidence is decisive, and it applies equally to Norway and Sweden. Dr. E. R. L. Gould, in referring to the matter, says: “To say positively, without fear of controversion in the smallest detail, that gambling and sexual immorality have been entirely disasso-

¹ Introduction to *Popular Control of the Liquor Traffic*.

ciated from the public-house, under the Scandinavian system, is to sound no uncertain note of praise.”¹

(c) *Reduction in the Hours of Sale.*

While the law allows the sale of brandy over the bar to continue until 10 p.m., the Gothenburg Company closes its bars at 6 p.m. in winter and 7 p.m. in summer. The higher-grade divisions of the Company's shops remain open two hours later, during which time non-native spirits only are supplied, and then only with food. All serving of brandy on Sundays and holidays, and after 6 p.m. on evenings preceding such days, is prohibited, with the exception of one dram if served with a meal at the eating-houses between 1 and 3 p.m. The Retail (“Off”) shops are open from 9 a.m. till 6 p.m. They are closed during the whole of Sunday. The importance of this early closing will be evident from the fact that in the large cities of our own country a considerable proportion of the trade is done after 7 p.m. Observations of certain public-houses in a West London street in a poor district showed that upwards of 40 per cent. of the total number of persons entering the house in the course of the day entered after 7 p.m.²

(d) *Sale of Liquor to Young People.*

The law forbids selling brandy to persons under the age of 15, while the Company has voluntarily raised the age limit to 18, thus excluding young persons from the licensed houses three years longer than is prescribed by law.

¹ *Popular Control of the Liquor Traffic*, p. 19.

² See *Life in West London*, pp. 130-136.

(e) *The Establishment of Eating-Houses.*

The Company has established four eating-houses, which cater almost exclusively for working men. They are large, well-conducted and very popular. The writers visited the principal one, near to the Docks, on June 8th, 1898, and were informed that on the previous day 964 portions of food had been sold. In consequence of this great demand, this place was to be enlarged and another opened near at hand. One dram of spirits only is allowed (on paying for it) with each meal. When these houses were first opened, nearly every customer took a dram with his meals, but now not more than one-half of the customers do so. The loss on the Company's eating-houses in 1897 was £381.

(f) *The Establishment of Reading-Rooms.*

Seven free Reading-Rooms have also been provided by the Company, in which no intoxicants except small beer are sold. They are well supplied with papers and books. Tea, coffee, milk, aerated waters and light refreshments are sold at low rates. These unpretending but useful rooms,¹ which in 1897 cost 11,684² kroner (£649) to maintain, and have an

¹ Referring to their notebooks, the present writers find the following entries: "The room (*i.e.* the one first visited) measures approximately 27 feet by 24, and is bright and attractive; it is well supplied with papers, viz., 4 daily, 9 weekly, 4 fortnightly, 8 monthly and 1 quarterly. The library has 273 volumes. Writing materials are supplied free. The room is open from 7 a.m. to 8 and 9 p.m. The attendance in winter is from 6,000 to 7,000 a month; in summer from 4,000 to 5,000." Another Reading-Room subsequently visited was equally attractive and similar in its general equipment.

² The seventh Reading-Room was opened in May, 1898, and for this purpose the annual grant was increased to 16,000 kroner.

annual attendance of over 300,000, are altogether distinct from the excellent Free Library of Gothenburg, which may be compared with the free libraries of English cities. The case of the Reading-Rooms is interesting as being an early suggestion of the right method of appropriating such portion of the profits of the Trade as is not paid into the national exchequer. They are here used in directly combating intemperance, through satisfying, to some extent, the craving for recreation apart from the public-house.

(g) *The Consumption of Spirits.*

It is impossible to state with entire accuracy the effect that has been produced on the consumption of spirits by the population of Gothenburg through the action of the Bolag. The Company's sales consist of the "Bar" or public-house trade, and the Retail or "Off" sale. But Gothenburg is surrounded by a prohibition zone, and large Retail ("Off") sales are made to the villagers who come into the town. It is therefore evident that the total sales represent far more than merely local consumption.¹ The most certain test of the influence of the controlling system in reducing consumption is that furnished by the bar sales, and these show a remarkable reduction in the 24 years from 1875² to 1898, as will be seen from

¹ It is estimated by the Bolag authorities that at least one-half of the Retail ("Off") sales represent extra-local consumption.

² "In the Act of 1855 an unfortunate clause had given all shopkeepers with a general trading licence the right to sell spirits for "off" consumption in quantities of not less than half a gallon. To put it briefly, every shopkeeper could sell for 4s. 6d. half-gallon bottles of spirits. It was thought that this

the following figures taken from the last report of the Gothenburg Bolag:—

YEAR.	Bar sale of spirits in Gothenburg. Litres per inhabitant.
1875	12.99
1876	13.18
1877	14.06
1878	13.61
1879	12.58
1880	11.11
1881	10.13
1882	9.12
1883	8.60
1884	8.55
1885	8.44
1886	8.12
1887	7.65
1888	7.46
1889	6.50
1890	6.43
1891	6.69
1892	5.90
1893	5.27
1894	4.91
1895	4.98
1896	4.94
1897	5.12
1898	5.45 ¹

quantity was large enough to prevent spirits being bought retail for immediate consumption. But the workmen clubbed together, bought at this wholesale rate, and consumed it on private premises, thus defeating the law and the Company. In 1874 the law was altered, and the whole retail spirit traffic transferred to the Company. The record of its achievements, therefore, really dates from that year.”—Workman, *What is the Gothenburg System?*

¹ In connection with the statistics of consumption Mr. Whyte justly points out that in 1876 trade was prosperous and wages high, and that some reduction in consumption, in the dull years following, would, under any circumstances, have taken place. For a consideration of the facts bearing upon this the reader is referred to the Appendix, p. 583, where a similar question in connection with Norway is discussed.

This reduction of 58 per cent., although remarkable, is perhaps not more than might have been expected. For not only has the inducement to push sales been removed by the elimination of private profit, but the whole conduct of the trade has been guided by men desirous of lessening intemperance, and able, without hindrance, promptly to adapt regulations to the requirements of the place and time. In the reduction of the number of public-houses, in the shortening of the hours of sale, and in the refusal to serve persons under eighteen years of age, it has not been necessary to waste years in an attempt to obtain Parliamentary sanction. In a later chapter,¹ detailed figures of the consumption of spirits in Gothenburg are given.

CONSUMPTION OF BEER.

The value of the licensing experience offered by the towns of Sweden is increased by the fact that there are two systems in force at the same time, viz.:—restriction, under the Companies, as regards spirits, and something approaching to free trade, under the customary stimulus of private gain, as regards beer. Thus, in Gothenburg, for every place where brandy can be bought for consumption on the premises, there are between four and five where beer can be bought, and for every shop where brandy is sold for consumption off the premises there are a great, but unknown, number where beer can be bought. Every shopkeeper in Gothenburg who possesses a trader's

¹ See Appendix, p. 573.

licence can, if he or she think fit, sell wine and beer for consumption off the premises.

There is some discrepancy between the different estimates of beer consumption in Sweden, but absolute agreement as to its enormous growth in recent years.¹

The following table, which is compiled from the Report of the Massachusetts Legislative Commission (1893) and the Board of Trade Return (No. 408, 1897) gives the official estimates of beer consumption since 1875.

¹ On making inquiry upon the point at the Bureau of Statistics in the Department of Finance, Stockholm, the attention of the writers was directed to the following paragraphs in the *Svensk Kemisk Tidskrift* bearing date 17th March, 1898:—

“Malt liquors not being taxed in any way, the material for statistical researches is very fragmentary. Good basis is, however, to be found for the years 1880 and 1890; the material for these years having been collected for the special needs of the Royal Commission of 1881 and 1891, appointed for the purpose of proposing a law of taxation on malt liquors. Otherwise one has no other way than that of indirectly ascertaining the quantitative development of the business by the tables of imports of hops.

“In 1880 one kilogram of hops was estimated to be used for four hectolitres of malt liquors. *In 1890 the amount of hops for a hectolitre had decidedly gone down, which was a natural consequence of the weaker kinds of malt liquor having increased considerably.*

“Basing the estimate on the import of hops, the quantity of malt liquors for sale in 1896 can be calculated safely to have amounted to 2,400,000 hectolitres, out of which one-half may be said to have been beer and porter, and the other half small beer.”

The gratifying fact brought out in these extracts is the growing proportion which the weaker kinds of malt liquor bear to the total consumption.

YEAR.	Consumption of Beer in Sweden. Litres per head of the Population.
1875-1879	17.2
1880-1884	17.6
1885-1889	24.1
1890-1894	30.7
1895	35.5
1896	42.4 ¹

EFFECT OF BEER CONSUMPTION UPON DRUNKENNESS.

The effect of an unrestricted sale of beer is strikingly shown in the analysis of arrests for drunkenness made by the authorities in order to ascertain at which place the intoxicated person drank last. In the annexed table the five years commencing with 1875 are compared with the five years ending 1897.

Analysis of Arrests for Drunkenness in Gothenburg.

YEARS.	NUMBER WHO DRANK LAST AT								TOTAL.
	Bars of the Company.	Percentage of total.	Beer Saloons.	Percentage of total.	Home or from a bottle purchase.	Percentage of total.	Place not reported.	Percentage of total.	
1875-79 Annual Average . .	1,038	42%	253	10%	332	13%	861	35%	2,484
1893-97 Annual Average . .	697	16%	1,119	28%	824	19%	1,588	37%	4,302

The decline in the number of arrests of those who

¹ The figures at first sight might seem to lend colour to a suggestion recently made that the decline in the consumption of spirits in Gothenburg is due to a change in the national taste from spirituous to fermented drinks, and is not to be attributed to the operations of the Bolag. The argument, however, is found to have little force when closely examined. See Appendix, p. 574.

drank last at the Company's bars, from 42 per cent. of the entire number in the first quinquennial period to 16 per cent. in the later period speaks powerfully for the restrictive influence exercised by the Bolags. Almost equally suggestive is the increase in arrests of those who drank last at the beer saloons—an increase from 10 per cent. in the first period to 28 per cent. in the last.

Mr. Elliot, who has been Chief of Police in Gothenburg since 1882, and in the force for thirty years, informed the present writers that he attributed "very much" of the drunkenness in the city to beer, either by itself or to beer in combination with spirits. When asked whether he thought there would be less drunkenness if there were no Bolag, he smiled at what he evidently regarded as the absurdity of the question. He expressed himself as absolutely convinced of the superiority of the Company System.¹

ARRESTS FOR DRUNKENNESS.

The arrests for drunkenness in Gothenburg since 1875 have been as under:—

YEAR.	Per 1,000 of Population.
1875-1879	39
1880-1884	34
1885-1889	34
1890-1894	42
1895	33
1896	37
1897	47
1898	57

¹ In the course of conversation, Mr. Elliot volunteered the remark that the parks did very much good in summer, but he added that in winter the labourers had "nothing to do for

The figures are undoubtedly high, and, as in the case of the prohibition towns in America, greatly in excess of corresponding figures for the United Kingdom. But, as has already been pointed out, the statistical test of drunkenness is an extremely misleading one, and affords no decisive evidence of the relative value of different licensing systems. It may be questioned, moreover, whether any great improvement in this direction is possible so long as the sale of beer remains practically free.¹

It should, however, in fairness, be stated that at the time of the writers' visit to Gothenburg in June, 1898, very little drunkenness was visible—certainly far less than is to be seen in an English city. Visiting the quay sides and back streets on Saturday evening (the arrests on Saturday are nearly double those made on

the night," and strongly advocated the provision of pleasant recreation, especially good music.

¹ It is difficult to understand the argument sometimes used that the increase of drunkenness in Gothenburg is due to the Company System. The question may be asked: What part of the Company System is thus responsible? Is it the fewness of the public-houses (one to every 2,798 of the population), or the severe limitation of the hours of sale, or the refusal to supply young persons under 18, or the non-giving of credit, or is it the reduction of 58 per cent. in the bar sales of spirits between 1875 and 1898? If, as seems probable, more than 5,000,000 litres of beer are sold annually in Gothenburg, and if the sale is rapidly growing, and is carried on with few of the wise restrictions that attach to the Company sale of spirits, there seems no occasion to seek further for an explanation, or to resort to a hypothesis so extravagant as that under consideration. If, however, the argument merely implies that the Company system in Gothenburg fails of its full result because beer is not included within its scope, an unqualified assent may be given to the proposition.

any other day) only one drunken person was seen. The greatest amount of drunkenness observed was on a Tuesday evening, in a Bolag shop near the quay, shortly before seven, the hour of closing. The place was busy, and the staff of attendants at the time was too small to observe, with any care, the condition of the customers. An additional male attendant, to act as inspector, is certainly needed in some of the shops. But such an appointment is unlikely so long as the Bolag pays the manager a fixed sum for staff expenses, and leaves him to appoint his own attendants. This system is obviously vicious, and calculated to interfere with the full possibilities of the Company system.

The general esteem in which the system is held by disinterested citizens is shown by the fact that in November, 1898, the Bishop and the Dean of Gothenburg, together with thirty clergymen in active service in and around the town "concerned with the evil consequences caused by the beer houses," petitioned the Royal Governor of the province that various restrictions might be applied to the sale of beer such as have been applied, by the Bolag, to the sale of spirits. The special importance of the petition lay in its concluding words, which were as follows:—"Finally we should recommend as a suitable measure that the present number of beer licences should be successively reduced, whenever the present holders, owing to death or other causes, cease to use them; *so that eventually all these licences, with the exception of those connected with the serving of food, should come under the control of the Gothenburg Public-House Licensing Company,—conducted according to the Gothenburg system.*"¹

¹ The petition is given *in extenso* at p. 575.

The petition is manifestly of great evidential value in showing the estimation in which the Gothenburg Bolag stands with thoughtful and intelligent men who are concerned for the moral progress of the community.

STOCKHOLM.

Population—(1877-8) 153,528, (1896-7) 274,611.

DETAILED statistics of the working of the Company System in Stockholm will be found in the Appendix, and only a few facts need be mentioned here.

The Company commenced operations in October, 1877, when 170 "On" licences were handed over to it by the town.

The Company made use of them as follows :—

Appropriated for public-houses	67	
Transferred by Company to hotels, restaurants and coffee houses	83	
	<u>150</u>	being 1 to every 1,023 of population,
whilst the number not used was	20	
	<u>170</u>	

In 1896-7 the number of "On" licences held by the Company was still 170, which were made use of as follows :—

Appropriated for public-houses	63	
Transferred by Company as above	80	
	<u>143</u>	being 1 to every 1,920 of population,
whilst the number not used was	27	
	<u>170</u>	

Of the 90 Retail or "Off" licences handed over to the Company in 1877, it used 27 and transferred 51, whilst 12 were unused. In 1896-7 the number and appropriation of the Retail licences was the same; but whilst in 1877 there was one "Off" licence to every 1,968 of the population, in 1896-7 there was one to every 3,521.

Minors up to the age of 15 are forbidden by law to enter the Stockholm saloons; but the Brandy Company has here, as elsewhere, voluntarily raised the age to 18. The effect of the Company System in restricting sales in Stockholm is shown by the fact that while in 1877-78 the bar sale of spirits was 13.82 litres per head of the population, it had fallen in 1896-7 to 7.17 litres.

WEAK POINTS IN THE SWEDISH SYSTEM.

There is much to be learnt from an examination of the weak points in the Company System in Sweden, which have been brought to light during the past 20 or 25 years. Such an examination leads to the conclusion that the defects are almost wholly traceable to deficiencies in the statutory law under which the companies worked.

Firstly, the legislature, having failed to realize what the present writers believe to be the right appropriation of the surplus profits, gave its sanction to the use of the profits in aid of local rates, an appropriation full of danger.

Secondly, no adequate provision was made to guard against ordinary abuses of administration.

To deal with the last point first. It is clear that in some small places the essential principles of the

system were very imperfectly realized, and abuses were allowed to creep in which could have been effectually prevented had the provisions of the law been more skilfully drawn. These abuses formed the subject of official inquiry in 1894-5, and are unsparingly set forth in the Report issued by the Swedish Bureau of Control (Finance Department, Stockholm)—a report which prepared the way for the excellent law of May 24th, 1895. Under this law, little loophole would seem to be left for a recurrence of irregularities. The accounts of the companies have now to be kept in the manner and after the formula provided by the Bureau of Control and Assay of the Royal Department of Finance. Another clause provides for the yearly examination of the accounts of the companies by five auditors, one of whom is to be appointed by the Governor, representing the Crown. The auditors' report has, moreover, to be published before the end of February in each year in some of the local newspapers.

It may be asked what were these "abuses" and "irregularities"? The answer is exceedingly suggestive. They consisted in carrying on the local drink trade more or less for profit, instead of with a view to restriction and control. That is to say, the "abuse" of the Company System in Sweden was identical with the ordinary trade methods in non-company countries.

In the large towns the administration of the Bolags is both able and honest. The directors have honourably administered their responsible trust. In Gothenburg, as has been shown, they have steadily kept down the number of licensed houses; they have

shortened the hours of sale; they have raised the age at which young persons may be served, and have opened eating-houses and reading-rooms. But the full success of the enterprise has been impaired by the appropriation of the profits of the Company towards the reduction of rates, an appropriation unfortunately made possible under the statutory law. Hitherto, this use of the profits may have resulted in nothing worse than a failure to bring into play the great forces in favour of Temperance which are possible under an enlightened disposition of the funds. But a real danger must lurk in any system which gives the ratepayer a direct interest in the profitable carrying on of the trade. In 1897 the share of the profits of the Gothenburg Company received by the municipality was not less than £36,899,¹ an amount equal to 31 per cent. of the total municipal revenue raised by rates.²

It has often been matter for surprise that men so enlightened as the original founders of the Company should have adopted a method fraught with so much peril. What the present writers believe to be the true explanation has not, so far as they know, been hitherto placed before English readers. But it is an interesting fact that the directors had originally planned to devote the profits of the Bolag to "some

¹ The items of the profit are made up thus:—

Fixed payment to the City Treasury for Bar	
Sale and Retail Licences	£15,230
$\frac{7}{10}$ ths of the Bolag profits (£30,956)	21,669
	<hr/>
	£36,899

² The amount raised by rates in Gothenburg (1898) was £118013.

purpose conducive to the welfare of the working classes." Why was this intention abandoned? Apparently because the promoters were threatened with the formation of a rival company prepared to offer better terms to the town. The hands of the original directors were thus forced, and in order to keep the experiment under their control they were compelled to offer terms equal to those made by their competitors. The incident is noteworthy as a further illustration of the necessity of dealing with this crucial question of the distribution of the profits by clear statutory law.

For supplementary evidence upon the working of the Company System in Sweden, see Appendix, p. 572.

NORWAY.

THE licensing system in Norway has been conducted under conditions of population and economic development similar to those which have obtained in Sweden. The number of persons to the square mile in 1896 was only 17, and of the total population of 2,081,800, 26 per cent. belonged to the urban and 74 to the rural population.¹ Both Norway and Sweden are lands

¹ PROPORTION OF URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION IN NORWAY.

	Population.	Percentage of Total Population.	
		Urban.	Rural.
1825	1,051,318	11%	89%
1855	1,490,047	14%	86%
1875	1,813,424	18%	82%
1891	2,000,917	24%	76%
1896	2,081,800	26%	74%

of peasant proprietors. In 1875 the owners of real estate in the rural districts of Norway numbered 173,183.¹ The total number of small freehold proprietors in Sweden in 1880 was 224,569.² In one respect there is a wide difference between the two countries. The traditions and *régime* of Sweden are aristocratic; the atmosphere of Norway is essentially democratic. But in the Temperance history of the two countries there is a remarkable similarity—each experienced the tremendous peril of free distillation, while each has adopted local option in the rural districts and the controlling system in the towns.

FREE DISTILLATION.

In 1816, the Norwegian Storting granted every one the right to distil brandy from grain or potatoes raised on his own land. The consequences were startling. During the ensuing 20 years the consumption more than doubled, reaching 16 litres of bränvin (50 per cent. alcohol) per inhabitant. In 1833, when distillation was unrestricted, the number of stills in Norway was 9,727; viz., 9,576 in the country districts and 151 in the towns. This free distillation reduced the country to a fearful condition. Referring to this

In 1896, Christiania and Bergen accounted for nearly one-half (46%) of the town population.

DENSITY OF POPULATION IN NORWAY.

1825	. . . . .	8	persons	to	square	mile
1855	. . . . .	12	"	"	"	"
1875	. . . . .	15	"	"	"	"
1896	. . . . .	17	"	"	"	"

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*: "Norway."

² Parliamentary Return C—6250.

period, Mr. Lars O. Jensen, the leader of the Norwegian Good Templars, in a paper read before the International Temperance Congress at the Hague in 1893, stated that in some parishes,—as, for instance, in Tønset—“even the women could no longer go to church on Sunday without having their bottle of brandy with them, while it was not unusual to find a great part of the congregation lying dead drunk outside the church walls, when the service was over. Brandy was given to babies, while it was considered quite a necessity for nursing mothers. So brandy was on the fair way to ruin the Norwegian people.”

The country became alarmed. By 1840 the number of stills had been reduced to 1,387, and, under the operation of the law of 1848, the number was, in 1850, brought down to 40. At the present time there are 21 distilleries in Norway.

REDUCTION IN NUMBER OF LICENCES IN RURAL DISTRICTS AND LOCAL CONTROL OF TRAFFIC.

Other legislation of an important character was adopted, especially the Act of 1845, two clauses of which produced a great effect.

By Section 5 it was enacted that “In the country districts, bar trade in brandy must be carried on only at such inns as are necessary for travellers, and which on this account shall be given a licence to conduct this bar trade, yet it shall be forbidden to serve brandy to any persons living or staying nearer than $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles (English) to the inn.”¹

¹ Dr. E. R. L. Gould, *The Gothenburg System of Liquor Traffic*.

But even this restricted number of licences was subject to a local veto. For, under Section 7, it was provided that "In the country districts permission to carry on a bar trade in brandy shall not be granted to innkeepers, nor permission to retail it granted to country merchants, unless the local governing body have recommended the establishment of such retail or bar trade places."

THE COMPANY SYSTEM IN NORWAY.

The introduction of the Company System in Norway, authorized by the Act of May 3rd, 1871, was due to the example afforded by Gothenburg in 1865. The Norwegian system was, however, no mere copy of that existing in Sweden. Norway had the immense advantage of availing itself of the experience of Sweden, and of thus avoiding some of the mistakes made by the pioneers in an untraversed field. "Norway began where Sweden left off." It has been pointed out that the defects in the Company System in Sweden—especially the appropriation of the profits to the reduction of rates—were due to the absence of proper statutory law. About twenty words in the Act of May 3rd, 1871, sufficed to make any such appropriation of profits in Norway impossible. A lax administration of the Bolags, such as obtained in some of the small towns of Sweden prior to the Act of 1895, was also guarded against; for, "while the law of 1871 does not expressly imply it, the final decision in all matters relating to the Companies rests with the Department of the Interior. Its powers are nearly absolute."

The Norwegian law of 1871, under which the Com-

panies were established, expressly provided that the net profits of the Samlags should be devoted to objects of public utility, and this was interpreted as referring to objects which the municipality is not, by law, already obliged to support.

Christiansand, a town of 12,000 inhabitants, was the first to adopt the Company System, and others followed. In 1875, 15 societies had been established, in 1880, 41, and in 1891, 51, out of a total of 59 towns with a licensing authority.¹

It may be well to point out here that the licensing authority in every town may or may not grant licences at its discretion, as will be seen from the fact, stated below, that in five small towns the retailing of intoxicating liquors was entirely prohibited. The same may be said of rural districts; "in them local option exists, and is practised in its most complete forms; in some places a few licences are granted, in others none at all, depending on the discretion of the communal body of representatives, which is the licensing authority."

The following table gives the *per capita* consumption of Bränvin and Beer in Norway.

¹ It must be kept in mind that the right to establish a Samlag or Controlling Society was conferred upon towns only, and was not extended to the rural districts. In five of the eight other towns (with an aggregate population of 9,900) licences for retailing spirits had up to the end of 1895 been refused to all applicants. In three other small towns, with an aggregate population of 1,280, the retailing of spirits was, up to the same date, conducted by private licensees. In every other town in Norway with a licensing authority a Controlling Society had been formed by 1889.

CONSUMPTION OF BRÄNVIN AND BEER IN NORWAY.

	Bränvin of 50 per cent. alcohol. Litres per head of the Popula- tion.	Propor- tion of national sales of Bränvin made by Sam- lags. ¹		Beer. Litres per head of the Popula- tion.
1833	Estimated. 16·0		In 1833 the number of stills was 9,727; reduced in 1840 to 1,387, and in 1850 to 40. By the law of 1845 bar trade in Bränvin in the rural districts was confined to inns necessary for travellers; but, without per- mission of the local governing body, even this sale was not permitted.	
1843	10·0			
	Actual			
1849-50	5·4			
1851-55	6·3			
1856-60	5·5			
1861-65	4·4			
1866-70	4·8			
1871	5·3			12·3
1872	4·5			13·0
1873	5·3			16·1
1874	6·6			19·0
1875	6·5			23·2
1876	6·7	8·3		21·1
1877	6·0	14·8		21·4
1878	4·5	22·2		20·7
1879	3·3	24·5		20·1
1880	3·9	21·0		15·3
1881	3·0	30·1		16·1
1882	3·8	25·5		16·2
1883	3·3	34·1		17·7
1884	3·5	34·1		16·9
1885	3·5	32·1		17·1
1886	3·0	41·4		13·5
1887	2·8	43·2		13·3
1888	3·1	40·1		15·5
1889	3·2	41·8		15·5
1890	3·1	49·1		18·8
1891	3·7	42·9		21·7
1892	3·2	51·3		20·6
1893	3·5	45·6		20·8
1894	3·8	39·7		19·8
1895	3·5	41·2		17·7
1896	2·3	56·4	The law of July 24th, 1894, came into force January 1st, 1896. In 1896-7 Norway flooded with laddevin. ²	16·2
1897	2·2	60·5		17·8
1898	2·6	—		21·6

¹ The Norwegian word "Samlag" corresponds to the Swedish word "Bilag."

² Common wine mixed with Bränvin. For the causes which led to its manufacture and introduction into Norway see pp. 317-20.

An examination of the foregoing table (for the basis of which see Appendix, p. 581) shows that in a period of about twenty years, from 1833 to 1851-55, the *per capita* consumption of spirits in Norway was reduced from 16 to 6.3 litres. After this followed a period of more than twenty years in which the consumption was almost stationary, and it was not till the Samlags had been introduced, and a material portion of the trade had been brought within their control, that any further reduction was effected. In connection with these figures it will hardly be necessary to point out that it is comparatively easy to reduce a drink bill when it is at an altogether abnormal height. To strike off a single litre from a *per capita* consumption of three litres would be harder than it was to strike off eight or ten litres sixty years ago.

The controlling system as it was first introduced into Norway, while agreeing in its main outlines with that of Sweden, had important points of difference. These differences are clearly seen in the regulations of the Bergen Samlag, which is often named as that in which the Norwegian controlling system finds its fullest expression.

THE COMPANY SYSTEM IN BERGEN.

Population—(1877) 40,760, (1897) 65,500.

BERGEN, the chief port and second city of Norway, is familiar to English and American travellers as the usual place of arrival and departure in the Norwegian tour.

(a) *Reduction in the number of Licences.*

In this town the Controlling Society commenced

operations on January 1st, 1877. The municipality had suppressed some of the licences that were in actual operation in 1876, and transferred the rest, viz.: 16 to the Samlag. In the case of those suppressed no compensation was given, the practice in this respect, so far as ordinary licences are concerned, being uniform throughout Scandinavia.¹ Of the 16 licences transferred to the Company, 12 were used as Bar and 4 as Retail ("Off") licences. In 1880 the Bar licences were reduced to 11, in 1889 to 10, in 1897 to 9, and from April of 1898 to 8. In 1877 there was one Bar licence to every 3,396 of the population; in 1898, one to every 8,187. The "Off" licences have remained throughout at 4, being now at the rate of one to every 16,375 of the population. Small as is the number of these licences, they serve the purpose of a safety-valve. There is no club difficulty in Bergen, and no driving of the traffic below the surface.

(b) *Hours of Sale.*

The times and hours of sale are more severely restricted in Norway than in Sweden. In Bergen, for example, no sale of drams is allowed on Sunday or on festivals. The spirit bars close at 1 p.m. on Saturday, and do not open till 8 a.m. on Monday. On week-days the general hours of sale are from 8 a.m. till 12 at noon, when they are closed till 1.30 p.m.; they are opened again from 1.30 to 7 p.m. On days before festivals (*i.e.* Christmas Eve, New Year's Eve, Easter Eve, and Whitsun Eve) both bar and retail

¹ In the case of "privileged" licences—*i.e.* those held upon a term of one or more lives—compensation upon the basis of recent profits was given.

shops are closed all day. They are also closed on Constitution Day (May 17th) and on election days, and whenever the chief of police requires. The closing from 12 to 1.30 is especially enacted to protect working-men from the temptation of dram-drinking during the dinner hour, a striking reversal of the ordinary English idea.

(c) *Character of the Drink Shops.*

The following description of the Bergen spirit shops given by a Committee of the United Kingdom Alliance a few years ago, is so clear and marks so well their present characteristics that it may be reproduced here:—

“The Bergen bars offer no attractions whatever, except drink. They have no resemblance to bright gin-palaces, nor to bright coffee taverns, nor yet to ‘snug’ public-houses. They are not places of resort for social intercourse. There is nothing—save the drink—of the ‘working-man’s club’ about them. Food is not provided in them. They are neither comfortable nor spacious. Accommodation or arrangement for either indoor or outdoor games has not been so much as thought of in connection with them. Newspapers are not supplied. Indeed, seats are not provided. There are no private apartments to be obtained in them for business or other purposes. People don’t meet in them to do business, to discuss politics, to play cards, or to discuss and bet on races. Indeed, customers are not permitted to loiter on the premises. They must consume their dram at once and leave immediately.”

(d) Hotels and Sub-Licensing.

A distinctive merit of the Norwegian system is that sub-licensing (such as we have seen exists in Sweden) is generally kept within narrow limits. In cases where the public convenience demands it certain privileges are granted to hotel-proprietors, etc., for the sale of spirits, but even in such cases an arrangement is generally made that the proprietor of the hotel or restaurant shall become the salaried agent of the Company, which undertakes all risk, and receives the whole of the profits on the spirits sold.

The Bergen society, however, has persistently refused to grant sub-licences to the proprietors of hotels, restaurants and clubs. Both travellers and club-members must, therefore, either supply themselves with private bottles or visit the spirit bars of the Company in order to procure a supply.

(e) Special Police Inspection.

In order to guard against violations of its bye-laws for the control of the traffic, the Bergen Samlag pays the municipality 1,200 kroner a year for the exclusive services of a police officer to watch the bars and retail shops.

(f) Waiting-Rooms for Workmen.

Another good feature of the Bergen Society's administration is the provision of four waiting-rooms for workmen. The rooms, which are in separate buildings, and in no way connected with the Company's shops, are warmed and supplied with newspapers ; no charge is made for their use, and smoking

is allowed. The cost of maintenance of these rooms was, in 1897, 5,500 kroner (£305).

(g) *Other Regulations.*

In Norway, as in Sweden, no credit is given by any of the Companies. "You can no more buy drink on credit than you can buy postage stamps or railway tickets on credit."

In Bergen there are no female attendants in either the Bar or Retail ("Off") shops belonging to the Samlag. It was probably this example that induced the Bergen municipality, ten years ago, to pass a regulation precluding women from being employed as bar-tenders in places where beer and wine was sold—these being outside the control of the Samlag—the only exception being in the case of the landlord's wife. The incident indicates the influence which Temperance sentiment exerts in Bergen, and is one of a multitude of illustrations to show that the Samlags, so far from lowering the tone of thought on matters connected with the drink traffic, act as a distinctly educational force.

REDUCED SALE OF SPIRITS.

In estimating the consumption of spirits in Bergen it is important to remember that the sales of the Company, which form the only available basis of calculation, represent other than purely local consumption. The fact that Bergen is the principal port of Norway and the chief centre of trade on the western coast necessarily furnishes the city with a large floating population whose drinking habits considerably affect the statistics of sale. In Bergen, as in

Gothenburg, the truest index to the effect of the controlling system upon the local consumption is to be found in the record of the Bar sales. The following table shows the average consumption of spirits at bars, per inhabitant, from the formation of the Bergen Company :¹—

YEAR.	Bar Sale of Spirits in Bergen. Litres per inhabitant.
1877	2.45
1878	2.11
1879	1.68
1880	1.53
1881	1.61
1882	1.64
1883	1.63
1884	1.67
1885	1.68
1886	1.67
1887	1.65
1888	1.57
1889	1.56
1890	1.56
1891	1.65
1892	1.69
1893	1.60
1894	1.46
1895	1.35
1896	1.02
1897 . . . . .	.99

From these figures it will be seen that the reduction in bar sales between 1877 and 1895 was not less than 44.9 per cent.² But the actual reduction effected by the Samlag was probably much greater. It is unfortu-

¹ Detailed figures of the Consumption of Spirits in Bergen are given in the Appendix, p. 589.

² If the comparison had been made with 1897, the reduction would have been one of 59.6 per cent., but, as will be explained later, the flooding of the country with "laddevin" since 1896 renders many of the statistics subsequent to 1895 of uncertain value.

nate that in Bergen, as elsewhere, exact statistics of consumption are not available for the years immediately preceding the establishment of the Samlag, so that the real extent of the reduction effected by the controlling system cannot be fully shown.

If, however, we take as the basis of comparison the advance-estimate of probable consumption in 1877, an estimate made by the Excise Authorities and based upon the figures for 1876, there must have been a total reduction of consumption of 43 per cent. as the result of the Society's operations *in the first year of its existence*.

ARRESTS FOR DRUNKENNESS.

The apprehensions for drunkenness in Bergen from 1877 to 1897 were as under. The full particulars are given elsewhere.¹

	Per 1,000 of the Population.
1877-1881	20·6
1882-1886	15·7
1887-1891	16·4
1892	12·1
1893	14·1
1894	15·9
1895	22·1
1896	29·1
1897	27·3

The explanation of the extraordinary increase in the arrests since 1895 is given later in this chapter.²

¹ See Appendix, p. 589.

² See p. 319.

APPROPRIATION OF PROFITS.

The profits of the Bergen Samlag available for distribution for the 21 years 1877 to 1897, have been 2,652,723 kroner (£147,373), or a yearly average of 126,320 kroner (£7,018). They have been appropriated as under :—

	Kroner.	Percentage of total appropriation.
Hospitals, Refuges, Homes	827,640	31
Museums, Libraries and Exhibitions	620,391	24
Tree-planting, Parks, Public Baths) and Recreation Grounds }	409,178	15
Various Educational Institutes	216,148	8
Bergen National and New Theatres	126,000	5
Workmen's Waiting-Rooms	101,500	4
Various Christian Missions	85,200	3
Temperance Societies and Inebriate) Homes }	75,950	3
Sundry Charities	61,400	2
Summer Excursions for Children) and poor Seamstresses }	28,000	1
Sundry objects, including Free Con-) certs in Park, Boys' Training } Ship & Birds' Protection Society)	101,316	4
	2,652,723	100

With the wide extension of municipal action now obtaining in this country, some of the above items would be paid for out of the rates, and it may be urged that in Norway a corresponding enlargement of the sphere of municipal activity would include such objects as tree-planting, public baths and recreation grounds. Looking to the future, this may be true, although it is doubtful whether, up to the present, Norwegian municipalities would have expended the rates upon objects of this kind. An equally cogent

criticism may be offered upon the appropriation of £45,980 for hospitals, refuges and homes. Those who, in this country, have served upon the committees of such institutions, and have realized how much could be accomplished with ampler funds—often so difficult to obtain—will question the wisdom of making the maintenance of the income of these institutions dependent upon an undiminished drink traffic. It may be doubted also whether, in the long run, the efficiency of Temperance organizations will be advanced by participation in these profits.

Considerations of this kind appear to have influenced the Temperance reformers who drafted the Bill of July 24th, 1894, under which 65 per cent. of the profits will go to the State. Whether the provisions for the appropriation of the remainder are equally wise may be doubted.

If the Norwegian appropriation of profits is a great improvement upon the Swedish method, a still greater advance will be made by any country that realizes the imperative need in the struggle with intemperance of varied counteracting agencies, and regards the profits of the trade not as a dangerous thing to be got rid of as best may, but as an instrument, if rightly used, of enormous and beneficent power.

REALITY OF THE CONTROL

The chief interest to the English observer of the Bergen experiment lies in the evidence which it affords of the reality of the control exercised by the Companies. The Bergen Samlag may be condemned by some as being too high-handed in the restrictions

which it imposes upon the sale of spirits; no one can complain of any want of thoroughness in its policy. It is almost superfluous to point out how absolutely impossible it would be to exercise any similar control under private licence.

In an interesting Report by a Committee of the United Kingdom Alliance upon the Scandinavian Licensing systems, the writers, after speaking of the controlling system in Bergen "as the most successful system of local control in existence," add: "But if the Bergen system can do but little to prevent men who are already victims of the 'drink crave' from getting drunk, there is great probability that it is doing a good deal to prevent the drink crave from being formed. It seems probable that at present the Bergen bars are not nurseries of drunkenness, as are the highly respectable, comfortable and attractive public-houses of this country, to which young men and women who have no special liking for intoxicants do *not* at first go to 'drink for the sake of drinking,' but because of one or more of a vast variety of inducements, not one of which is offered by the managers of the Bergen bars."

The accuracy of these statements was impressed upon the present writers as a result of personal investigations in Bergen in June and July, 1898. Interviews with the Chief of the Police and others elicited strong testimonies to the value of the controlling influence exercised by the Company.

The extent to which the Bergen Controlling Society has won the respect and support of the most influential citizens was strikingly shown in a series of letters addressed a few years back to Mr. T. M. Wilson (the

well-known author of *Local Option in Norway*) in response to inquiries made by him. The questions put by Mr. Wilson, together with a number of the replies, are given later.¹

CHRISTIANIA

Population—(1885) 128,300, (1890) 143,347, (1897) 192,141,
(1898) 203,000.

THE essential principle of the Gothenburg system—the elimination of private profit from the sale of drink—has been less fully carried out in Christiania than in the other large towns of Norway and Sweden. It is true that there is only one “On” licence to every 5,970 of the population, but there are at the present time 29 retail shops where common bränvin, as well as superior spirits, is sold.² To 25 of these the Samlag issues sub-licences, while 4 are privileged retailers. Each of these 29 shops pays the Samlag 10,000 kroner (£555) annually. That such a payment should be made shows the magnitude of the trade which these shops carry on. It will not excite surprise that in a city in which the stimulus of private gain has such ample scope there is much intemperance. Thus in 1897 the arrests for drunkenness were 17,992,³ or 94 per 1,000 of the population. No doubt laddevin is responsible for the great increase in the last two or three years, but before its introduction the arrests were 78 per 1,000, a

¹ See Appendix, p. 590.

² The retail shops holding sub-licences under the Bolag in Gothenburg may only sell “superior spirits”—they are precluded from selling bränvin. But see footnote, p. 277.

³ The number of separate people arrested for drunkenness in 1896 was 8,428.

number as great as in 1884, before the Company had been formed.¹ It is also to be noted that Christiania is the centre of the brewing industry, and that in 1898 it had 239 "On" beer licences, while the number of "Off" beer licences (in 1896) was 1,877.

THE NORWEGIAN LAW OF JULY 24TH, 1894.

(The Law came into force January 1st, 1896.)

ATTENTION in this country has been directed to the Norwegian law of 1894 as constituting an important landmark in the history of temperance legislation in Norway. The provisions of the Act are so remarkable, and the results flowing from it have been so unexpected, that a few pages must be given to an examination of the measure and of its working.

The law gave expression to the advanced temperance opinion of the country; it was drafted by the Temperance leaders² and carried by Temperance support.

To understand its leading provisions it is needful to look at the position of the town and rural populations respectively prior to 1894. In the rural districts, containing three-fourths of the population, local option prevailed, and under its operation the Bar ("On") and Retail ("Off") trade had been practically suppressed, and there remained only 29 privileged licences, each dependent upon the continuance of one or two lives.³

¹ The Christiania Samlag commenced operations July 1, 1885.

² The law of 1894 was drawn by Mr. Aarrestad, leader of the Temperance party in the Storthing, together with Mr. Berner, a prominent and influential member of the Temperance party, and Mr. Jensen, Chief Clerk in the Department of the Interior. — *Foreign Office Report. Miscellaneous Series, No. 349, 1895.*

³ A Report presented to the Norwegian Storthing in 1898

But any distiller or wholesale dealer was at liberty to take orders for quantities of not less than 40 litres ($8\frac{4}{5}$ gallons) of spirits and send it, in one vessel, to any one buyer living within a prohibition district. A keg of spirits containing 40 litres could be purchased for £4 10s. 0d. or less, and it was a common thing for persons to club together and order this quantity for their joint use.

An official inquiry for the six years 1884-1889 showed that 59 per cent. of the total national consumption of spirits was represented by sales of 40 litres and upwards and only 41 per cent. by sales in small quantities.¹

One object, then, of the Act of 1894 was to do away with this wholesale trade, and, for this purpose, the minimum of a wholesale sale was raised from 40 litres to 250 litres; *i.e.* from $8\frac{4}{5}$ to 55 gallons—a purchase which would cost about 500 kroner (£28). And, further, every wholesale dealer was required to pay yearly a licence tax of 1,000 kroner (more than £55).

gives the number of privileged brandy sellers in the rural districts of Norway as twenty-nine, of whom nineteen sell "On" and "Off," while nine sell only "Off" and one sells only "On."

¹ The present writers were informed, in the Statistical and other Government departments, that no figures exist to show the proportion of the national consumption of spirits which belongs to the rural districts. In a communication since received, Mr. Berner states that the wholesale sales of 40 litres and upwards in 1884-89 were not made exclusively, perhaps not mainly, to the rural districts, but that large sales were made to sailors and fishermen. Mr. Berner adds that the consumption of brandy in most of the rural districts is really small, except at festivities and especially at Christmas time, when the farmers, in accordance with old Norwegian custom, use a large quantity.

But the aims of the Temperance party went further than this. They knew that by the action of a popular vote licensed houses for the sale of spirits had, in the rural districts, all but ceased to exist; and it was believed that by the same means they might be closed in the towns. The temperance leaders were not hostile to the Samlags, but the Company System was regarded by them as a stepping-stone to something beyond. If the sale of spirits was to continue at all, it was better that it should be under the Samlags than free, and hence it was desired to narrow the alternatives to a choice between the Samlags and prohibition. To give effect to these views, the Act provides that in towns all trade in spirits, other than wholesale, whether on or off the premises, must be put under the control of the Samlags. But the most notable feature of the new law was the proviso that the establishment of a new Samlag, or even the continuance of an old one, should be dependent upon a general vote of all residents in the district over twenty-five years of age, men and women alike, a bare majority of those entitled to vote being sufficient for the suppression of a Samlag and the consequent establishment of prohibition. The decision came to be binding for five years.

This Act came into force on January 1st, 1896, but the licences in the 51 towns having Samlags terminated in different years. By the end of March, 1899, the whole of these towns had voted upon the question of the continuance of their Samlags; 13 of these towns voted in 1895 in anticipation of their action in 1896.

The voting in each of the five years has been as follows:—

YEAR.	Number of Towns in which a vote was taken.	Number of possible votes.	Number of votes for Samlag. ¹	Number of votes against Samlag. ²	Number of Towns in which Samlag has been retained.	Number of Towns in which Samlag has been abolished. ²
1895 .	13	23,791	9,682	14,109	2	11
1896 .	9	45,197	21,437	23,760	4	5
1897 .	11	41,984	24,266	17,718	8	3
1898 .	12	43,983	25,855	18,128	8	4
1899 .	6	108,127	85,744 ³	20,499 ³	3	2
	51	263,082	166,984	94,214	25	25

In 1897 two new Samlags were established.

There are two points to note in these returns. Some English Temperance reformers have been fearful that the Company System would necessarily bar the way to more advanced legislation. It has now been seen that the fear is groundless. Not only has the Norwegian Parliament passed an Act with provisions of extraordinary stringency, but the ratepayers in 25 towns have, wisely or unwisely, availed themselves of the power of local veto conferred upon them and have established prohibition.

Secondly, there is the striking change in the character of the voting. In 1895, only 2 towns voted for the Samlags, whilst 11 voted against them. In 1896 the numbers were nearly equal, but in 1897, 8 towns

¹ As a majority of those *entitled to vote* was necessary for the suppression of a Samlag, those who abstained from voting were counted as having voted for its continuance.

² The names of the towns which have voted upon the retention or suppression of the Samlag will be found in the Appendix, p. 593.

³ These figures relate to only five Samlags: in the case of the sixth, 25 votes are in dispute, and await the decision of the Government,

out of 11 voted for the Samlags, and in 1898, 8 towns out of 12 so voted.

It is too soon yet to express any decided opinion upon the results of this suppression of the Samlags by the 25 towns. When travelling in Norway in June of 1898, the present writers elicited the opinion of many persons in responsible positions both in Christiania and Bergen. The great majority of those consulted believed that the abolition of the Samlags had been a mistake, and would lead to disappointment. Some of the more important facts gathered in visits to four towns in which Samlags have been suppressed are set forth in the annexed table.

It will there be seen that in Stavanger and Skein the bottle trade is regularly carried on, whilst in Brevik it is only necessary to go across a narrow strip of water in order to get spirits at bar or in bottle. It is also to be borne in mind that in these, as in all the other towns in Norway, beer and wine can be freely purchased.

The great increase in the arrests for drunkenness in Stavanger and Skein will be noticed. Mr. S. Urdahl, a well-known Temperance leader in Norway, wrote to the police authorities in the 16 towns where the Samlags were closed in 1896 and 1897, inquiring as to the effect of the suppression upon sobriety. He received answers from 15 towns. None of the reports received from the different police officers shows that sobriety has been improved; most of them point in the opposite direction. It is, however, to be remembered that this increase in drunkenness in the prohibition towns was coincident with a general increase throughout the country, and is equally noticeable in Bergen and Christiania. The explanation

FACTS RELATING TO FOUR TOWNS IN WHICH THE SAMLAGS HAVE BEEN SUPPRESSED.

Town.	Population.	Date of Suppression of Samlag.	Spirit Licences before Suppression.		How Spirits are now obtained.	Arrests for Drunkenness.		Impression of general results, as gathered on the spot.
			"On."	"Off."		Before Suppression.	After Suppression.	
Skein . .	10,000	Dec. 31, 1895	1 4 hotels 1 restaurant	2	Through revival of a village Retail ("Off") licence and from neighbouring towns	(1895) about 350	(1896) (1897) 485 554	Unfavourable
Porsgrund	4,000	Dec. 31, 1897	2 2 hotels	none	From neighbouring towns	For six months 29	For six months 35	Favourable
Brevik. .	2,100	Dec. 31, 1895	1 1 hotel	none	From Samlag in neighbouring village (across a narrow strip of water) established when Brevik suppressed its Samlag, and from neighbouring towns	For two years Arrests . . . 91 Fined . . . 138 Punished . . 42	For two years 61 41 11	Unfavourable (see note below ¹)
Stavanger	24,000	Dec. 31, 1896	3	1	By the splitting of wholesale purchases, (see note below, ²) and from neighbouring towns	(1896)... .. 595	(1897) 885	Unfavourable

¹ In a half-hour's walk, from 6.30 to 7 on the evening of June 24th, 1898, a public holiday, one of the writers saw at least a dozen drunken persons, half of whom were youths of about 18. Later in same evening—8.45 to 9—saw 10 or 12 drunken men, most of them badly drunk, different persons from those seen earlier in the evening. Apparently no arrests. Subsequent inquiry showed that only two persons were arrested for drunkenness on that evening. There was more evidence of drunkenness here (Brevik) than in any other town visited in Norway or Sweden.

² An open sale of spirits in bottles is carried on in Stavanger by a tradesman who procures the liquor in the statutory quantities from a duly licensed wholesale dealer and then bottles it and retails it to his clients; the only inconvenience which the latter experience resulting from the fact that they have to give their orders a day or two beforehand. This dealer was prosecuted by the late chief of police, but the prosecution failed, the judges both in the local court and in the court of appeal at Christiania holding that the sale as carried on was not contrary to the terms of the law.

universally given is that it is due to "laddevin" and "good times."

As an indication of the trend of opinion upon the question of the suppression of the Samlags, it may be mentioned that, as early as March 20th, 1896, Mr. S. Urdahl, writing in support of the Bergen Samlag in the *Bergens Aftensblad*—stated that since the suppression of the eleven Samlags in the previous year, there had been sure signs that already a reaction of public sentiment had set in, and, he added, "we may be pretty sure that if not this year, then in a future parliament, proposals will be made for the requirement of a two-thirds majority to secure the suppression of a Samlag, instead of a simple majority as at present, and that the suppressionists in that case will, in most of the towns, be in a minority."¹

On a recent page it has been stated that official inquiry had shown that in the six years 1884–1889, 59 per cent. of all the spirit sold in Norway had been sold at wholesale, *i.e.* in quantities of 40 litres and upwards. It was therefore to be expected that when the wholesale limit was suddenly raised to 250 litres, and an annual licence tax of about £55 imposed upon the wholesale dealer, the sales would show a great reduction, and such has been the case.

Taking the official estimates of spirit sales in Norway from 1890 to 1897 (on the basis of 50 per cent. of alcohol) the figures are as follow:—

¹ Had a two-thirds majority been necessary for the suppression of a Samlag, they would only have been suppressed in 5 towns which together recorded 6,737 votes against the Samlags.

	Litres.	Per Inhabitant.
1890 . . .	6,206,000 . . .	3·1
1891 . . .	7,328,000 . . .	3·7
1892 . . .	6,438,000 . . .	3·2
1893 . . .	7,142,000 . . .	3·5
1894 . . .	7,628,000 . . .	3·8
1895 . . .	7,110,000 . . .	3·5
1896 . . .	4,827,000 . . .	2·3
1897 . . .	4,637,000 . . .	2·2
1898 . . .	5,566,000 . . .	2·6

It will be seen that in 1896 there was a sudden drop of 2,283,000 litres in the national consumption, representing a reduction at the rate of 32 per cent., whilst the figures of *per capita* consumption fell from 3·5 litres to 2·3 litres. At first sight, then, it might seem that the new legislation had achieved a signal success, and the more so when it was seen that the consumption of beer in 1896 was less than in 1895. But a great and unexpected danger suddenly appeared. From 1891 to 1894 the annual importation of wine averaged 2,320,300 litres; in 1895 the quantity was 2,967,300; but in 1896 it rose with a bound to 4,943,500 litres; in 1897 to 5,606,600, and in 1898 to 5,876,750. There was thus a rise in a single year of 1,976,200 litres, being at the rate of 67 per cent. This sudden inrush of "wine" is one of the strange incidents of fiscal history. The three separate and unconnected causes which conspired to bring it about may be described in a few sentences.

(1) In 1895, Norway entered into a new treaty of commerce with Portugal, under which Portuguese wines, up to 21 per cent. of alcoholic strength, were allowed to enter at the same low duty as the light French wines.

(2) At the same time, an advance took place in the price of brandy, owing to an increase in the excise duty of 27 per cent.¹ In consequence of this increase in duty the Bergen Samlag, in 1896, raised the price of spirits in bottle 20 öre per litre, and made the dram glasses smaller.

(3) At the same time also, through the advance in the minimum of a wholesale sale from 40 to 250 litres, and through the abolition of the Samlag in certain towns, many spirit drinkers found their accustomed supplies shut off, or only to be had at greater trouble and expense.

The distillers of Norway (or some of them), who must have been hard hit by the Act of 1894, saw in this conjunction of circumstances, and especially in the new treaty with Portugal, under which wines with a high degree of alcoholic strength could be admitted at a low duty, an opportunity of getting back a portion of their trade. If bränvin could not be sold as bränvin, could it not be sold as "wine"? The experiment was facilitated by the Norwegian Customs Regulations, under which a drawback was allowed upon exported spirit which, as in the case of the drawback upon beet sugar in France, worked out to more than the original tax. Large quantities of spirit were then sent to Hamburg, and smaller quantities to Copenhagen, where it was mixed with exceedingly common wine, and otherwise doctored and

¹ In 1888 the duty on Spirits (100 per cent. alcohol) was fixed at 1 kr. 60 öre (1s. 9½d.) per litre. In February, 1894, the duty was advanced to 1 kr. 90 öre (2s. 1½d.) per litre. In May, 1895, the duty was further advanced to 2 kr. 40 öre (2s. 8d.) per litre.—*Statistical Abstract for Norway*, 1897, p. 166.

re-exported to Norway as "Oporto Wine." Through the negligence of the Norwegian Customs large quantities were at first admitted with an alcoholic strength of as much as 23 degrees. This has now been stopped, and considerable consignments have since been refused admission at the low rate.¹ In 1896 and 1897, this imitation wine—known in Norway as "laddevin"—swept over the country as a flood, and being sold at one-third of the price of brandy, was accessible to all classes. No stringent restrictions interfered with its sale. The Act of 1894 was confined to liquors of over 21 per cent. of alcoholic strength. Wine and beer were outside the Company System. The enactment which provided that every town should have either a Samlag or prohibition, left the sale of wine and beer untouched. To take Bergen as an illustration. The Samlag has only eight places for the bar sale, and four for the retail ("Off") sale of spirits; that is, 12 places in all where spirits can be bought. But there are in the town 62 places where beer and wine can be obtained for consumption on the premises, and about 600 where it can be obtained in bottle. The facilities, therefore, for obtaining these doctored "wines" are practically unlimited.

That this unchecked sale of laddevin has caused a great outbreak of drunkenness is universally admitted. The Committee of Revision, in their Report of February, 1898, say: "That the great import, and the increasing consumption, of laddevin leads to a sad retrogression

¹ Referring to the increased importation of wine in 1898, the Secretary of the Statistical Bureau, Christiania, in a letter to the present writers under date May 31st, 1899, says:—

"The wine imported in 1898 has most likely for the most part been natural wine from wine-producing countries, while in 1896-1897 a very great part of the wine was an artificial product, imported from Hamburg and Copenhagen."

in the sobriety of the people is clear—laddevin contains the greatest danger for the inhabitants of the country, especially the working class, in respect of economical, moral, and social conditions.” To draw any inference, therefore, from the increased drunkenness in Norway during the past three years, without taking the scourge of laddevin into account, is to ignore what the Norwegians themselves regard as the most potent factor. How the nation will deal with the difficulty is not very clear. Commercial treaties stand in the way of an alteration in the Customs duties, and the chemists of the Customs department report that no sufficiently clear and easily recognisable line can be drawn between highly brandied Portuguese wines and laddevin. The remedy which meets with most acceptance is to require with each import a declaration of origin, *i.e.* a declaration of the place from which the wine was exported.

APPROPRIATION OF PROFITS UNDER THE ACT OF 1894.

One other important section of the Act of 1894 remains to be noticed. The Norwegian method for the appropriation of the profits earned by the Samlags, although far better than that adopted in Sweden, was justly regarded with apprehension by the Temperance party. If ordinary charities—hospitals, dispensaries, etc.—and valuable town improvements, such as public parks, were supported by or dependent for their carrying out upon the profits of the local drink trade, then it was only too likely that the effort of the community to restrict the trade would in time be checked. To guard against this danger, the Temperance party were able to embody in the Act of 1894 a most important change in the method of appropriating the profits.

The new method of division, which was to be introduced gradually, commencing in 1896, but coming into full operation in 1901, is shown in the table below :—

Year.	SHARE OF PROFIT APPROPRIATED TO		
	The Municipality.	The Samlag.	The State.
1896	15% + 15%	20% + 50%	—
1897	15%	20% + 40%	25%
1898	15%	20% + 30%	35%
1899	15%	20% + 20%	45%
1900	15%	20% + 10%	55%
1901	15%	20%	65%

The 15 per cent. to the municipality is merely an allowance in lieu of the much larger sums previously derived from the licence tax now abolished. The important change is in the appropriation by the State of 65 per cent. of the Samlag profits. This proportion is to be paid into the State Exchequer to form a special fund, the employment of which is hereafter to be determined by the legislature. It is generally assumed that the moneys so appropriated will ultimately be applied to a scheme for granting Old Age Pensions. The 20 per cent. remaining to the Samlag is to be divided "among the abstinence associations and other institutions and societies, in the town and neighbouring districts, of which the aim is to promote objects of general utility."

We cannot examine the Act of 1894 without being impressed by the strength of the Temperance sentiment in Norway which made the adoption of such

a measure possible. It has already been pointed out that the Company System facilitates progressive Temperance legislation. But it may be worth while briefly to consider why and in what way the Company System exercises such an influence. In chapter II. of the present volume, evidence has been given of the enormous power which in this country the drink interest is able to exercise upon parliamentary and municipal elections.

In Great Britain and Ireland this influence is primarily exerted through the 126,131 holders of "on" licences, who are "local instruments" of singular efficiency. Their trade interest is the same as that of the brewer or distiller, and they have become increasingly willing to carry out the electoral instructions of the great trade organizations. Deprived of these "local instruments," the brewers and distillers would lose most of their electoral force—they would be in a position analogous to that of a parliamentary candidate without a body of active workers. The legitimate influence of the Trade through public meetings and the press would remain, but that which makes it so portentous and threatening a power in the State would have ceased to exist. Now under the Company System there are no "local instruments." The managers of the Company shops are not, as in tied houses, dependent upon any brewer, nor are their interests at all bound up with the trade. The interest of a bar manager, both in Sweden and in Norway, is to stand well with his committee; and if a manager ever did attempt to influence an elector, he would run the risk of immediate dismissal.

One cannot be surprised that American writers,

familiar with the corrupting influence of the saloon in politics, should single out this feature of the Company System for especial praise. Dr. Gould writes: "A conspicuous merit is the complete divorcing of the liquor traffic from politics. In these countries the elimination of the liquor element as a political power is complete." And again: "In Norway every vestige and semblance of political influence is eliminated. Indeed, to my mind, this absolute separation which has been practically effected between liquor and politics is a conspicuous merit."

These statements must be received with one important qualification. It is the *spirit* traffic that has been divorced from politics, not the traffic in *beer*. The distiller has no "local instruments" through whom to work, but the brewer has thousands of such "instruments." Therefore, whilst the political power of the distiller is a thing of the past, that of the brewer remains intact. One is continually reminded of this when travelling in Scandinavia. The necessity of bringing beer under Company control is admitted on all hands; but when inquiry is made whether legislation in this direction is likely to be passed, one is told that the brewers are very wealthy and very powerful, and the change can only come after a fierce struggle.

THE SAMLAGS AND THE TEMPERANCE PARTY.

The attitude of the Temperance party in Norway towards the Company System may be clearly seen in the following passages written by Mr. Sven Aarrestad, the leader of the Temperance party in the Storting and in the country.

The extracts are taken from the minority report of the Committee of Revision, drawn up by Mr. Aarrestad, and bearing date March 1st, 1898:—

“As to beer, monopolizing must present itself as desirable. It appears that the breweries more and more gather within their sweep, and get under their control, both hotels, inns, and restaurants, and all kinds of places of public entertainment, in order to have the greatest possible power over all the channels through which beer can flow to the public; in the greater towns especially it has come to this, that the breweries stand behind most of the businesses where beer is sold or drunk. The nominal owner is only a man of straw acting for the brewery. The brewery furnishes the premises, pays the rent, and supplies the necessary capital to start the business—if the man of straw can only get the licence. As to the rural districts, it is not a rare case that breweries in the towns are the real owners of tourist hotels, sanatoria, and such places, for which licences are asked. The breweries are businesses with very great capital, and as there are comparatively few of them, they can easily form a ‘ring,’ and there is already such a combination. How this ‘ring’ might act in certain contingencies is clear from various indications,—among others, from a statement which has not been contradicted, that all the breweries have agreed not to furnish beer to the Samlags as cheaply as to private dealers, and this, of course, in order, if possible, to prevent the sale of beer being monopolized by the Samlags.

“Another argument in favour of monopolizing is

the fiscal consideration. Both the wine trade and the beer trade are good objects for taxation by the Exchequer. In our time, strong claims are made on the Exchequer from all directions, and it is often rather difficult to get a sufficient income. It seems, then, to be very feasible to lay a heavier tax than before on the beer and wine traffic—especially upon the wine traffic. Comparatively, the wine ought to be at least as expensive as brandy, and an increased taxation on wine can in the easiest way be obtained by monopolizing its sale through a Samlag.

“On the whole, it must be said that all trade with intoxicating drinks is fit for monopolizing. This is valid equally with the wine trade as with the brandy trade, and it holds good also as to the beer trade—at least as to the stronger beer.”

The Act drafted by Mr. Aarrestad, to give effect to his views, would allow either of the adding of wine, beer, etc., to the existing Samlags, or of the creation of new Samlags for these special drinks. Mr. Aarrestad further explained that whilst he considered the people had a right to vote upon the question of the establishment or continuance of these beer Samlags as much as upon the establishment and continuance of the spirit Samlags, he did not, on grounds of expediency, recommend that the power of so voting should be conferred at present.

To any in this country who ask whether the Controlling System, as carried out in Norway, is an influence for Temperance, this memorandum supplies the answer, unequivocal and decisive, which the leader of the Temperance party in Norway would give to such

a question. The contrast is evidently clear in his mind between the aggressive action of the Trade, ever seeking new avenues for sale, and the restrictive influence of a controlling society. He marks and understands the instinctive hostility of the brewers to the Samlags, and deliberately, in this parliamentary report, expresses the opinion that "all trade with intoxicating drinks is fit for monopolizing." And it is not without significance that after three years' experience of the working of the popular vote upon the question of the suppression of the spirit Samlags, he does not, on grounds of expediency, recommend that the beer Samlags should at present be subject to such vote.

The English student of the Controlling System may distrust arguments based upon figures which require to be studied in the full light of local conditions and used with the qualifications which only local knowledge can supply, but he cannot be mistaken as to the conclusion respecting it which has been formed by Mr. Aarrestad, himself a prohibitionist, armed with a knowledge of the actual facts probably equal to that possessed by any other living person. It should be clearly understood that the Temperance reformer in this country who alleges the failure of the Controlling System in Norway takes a view in direct opposition to that of the leader of the Temperance party in Norway.

The evidence of Mr. Lars O. Jensen, Right Worthy Grand Templar for Norway, is also valuable in this connection. Speaking at the International Alcoholic Congress at the Hague, in 1893, Mr. Jensen said:—

"The Samlag system of Norway has been an im-

provement when compared with the old drinkshop system :—

“(1) It offers no inducement for the bar-tender to push the sale of intoxicants as much as possible.

“(2) It secures comparatively easy obedience to the liquor laws.

“(3) It does not allow sale on credit.

“(4) It secures an early closing of the drinkshops ; and really many Samlags close their premises of their own accord when it is to be feared that people will indulge more than usually in spirits.

“(5) It hinders the formation of an organized liquor party ; because the money derived from the traffic is used for charitable institutions and for the public benefit, and does not go to the liquor dealers.

“When the Gothenburg system was introduced, it was feared that this system would throw an air of respectability about the drinking customs. This has not been so. On the contrary, it is regarded as a far greater shame to enter a Samlag shop than to enter an ordinary drinkshop or restaurant.”¹

The position of the Temperance party with regard to the Samlags may be summed up by saying that its members universally prefer the Samlag to private licensing, but many of them regard the Samlag as a half-way house towards prohibition.

CONCLUSION.

WE are now in a position to consider the defects and the advantages of the Company System, as carried out in Sweden and Norway.

¹ *Report of the Hague Congress, 1893, p. 277.*

DEFECTS OF THE COMPANY SYSTEM.

(1) The most obvious and glaring defect is the method adopted in Sweden of appropriating the profits to the relief of rates. The ultimate danger of such a system must be insisted upon whilst giving full recognition to the intelligence and honesty with which the system has hitherto been conducted in the large towns.

(2) The scheme for the appropriation of the profits, adopted in Norway since the Act of July 24th, 1894, came into force, has few of the dangers which attach to the Swedish plan. There is, however, in the provisions of the Act an imperfect recognition of the need for providing counter attractions to the public-house.

(3) The method of sub-licensing which gives the licensee a direct interest in the extension of his sales, runs counter to the central principle of the Gothenburg system, and when largely practised, as in Christiania, goes far to neutralize the restrictive influence of the Company as carried out in its own shops.

(4) The non-inclusion of beer and wine within the scope of the Companies has been a most serious obstacle to their success in combating intemperance.

ADVANTAGES OF THE COMPANY SYSTEM.

(1) Alone of all the systems that have been adopted, it secures a divorce between politics and the drink traffic.¹ Drink-selling once divorced from politics can

¹ M. G. Blomquist, of Stockholm, speaking at the Hague Congress, after alluding to Sunday closing and the shortening of hours of sale, added: "But these legislative reforms have been possible by the introduction of the Gothenburg system in Sweden, *because the publicans no longer have the slightest influence in the political life of Sweden.*"

no longer serve as an instrument of corruption, and one of the greatest obstacles to social reforms is thus overcome.

(2) When no political party is fettered by Trade support, and the vested interests now associated with it are destroyed, a large body of Temperance sentiment is set free and the way made easy for progressive Temperance reforms.

(3) A trade universally recognised as dangerous is taken out of the hands of the private dealer, who naturally seeks to extend it, and is brought under effective restriction and control.

(4) This restriction, being locally applied under local representative authority, keeps pace with the Temperance sentiment of the locality. "The end sought is the reformation of popular habits, and it is reached by a series of evolutionary stages, each of which finds its sanction in advancing public sentiment."

(5) If, as seems clear, prohibition is at present impossible in large towns, the Controlling System provides what is incomparably the least harmful safety-valve. In Scandinavian towns there is no club difficulty, and no driving of the traffic below the surface.

(6) The number of licensed houses can be reduced to the lowest limits which public opinion will support, while the difficulty that exists under private ownership in singling out any particular house to be closed is avoided.

(7) Sales on credit and all the adventitious attractions of the public-house are done away with.

(8) Gambling and all the immoral accessories of the public-house are abolished.

(9) Bye-laws for the regulation of the Trade can be

readily enforced and quickly adapted to the special needs of the locality.

(10) The Controlling System secures for the community the vast monopoly profits which now go to those interested in the Trade, and makes it possible to use them for the establishment of adequate counter-acting agencies.

(11) The system enlists the active co-operation of good citizens, and is responsive to an enlightened public opinion.

If, then, it be asked to what practical conclusions of value to this country the experiments in Scandinavia point, we reply that there are two which far exceed all others in importance. The first, the bed-rock upon which any fabric of effective licensing reform must be built, is to take the trade out of private hands. So long as the private interest of the seller runs counter to the interest of the State, so long will the effort of the State to restrict and control the traffic be baffled.

The second is that the Trade, when taken out of private hands, should be worked locally, not by the State, and should be subject to no other State control than that which is necessary to secure honest administration and the complete carrying out of the conditions determined by statutory law, under which the localities carry on the traffic.

For supplementary evidence upon the working of the Company System in Norway, see Appendix, p. 580.

CHAPTER VI

The Solution of the Problem

PART I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE concluding pages of the preceding chapter indicate what the present writers regard as the essential principles of successful Temperance reform. Before proceeding to consider how these principles can be practically applied to this country, it is necessary to take account of certain specific proposals upon which Temperance workers have arrived at a general agreement.

RATIO OF LICENCES TO POPULATION.

There is no single proposal upon which fuller agreement exists than that after a certain fixed date the number of licensed houses shall, by the action of Parliament, be reduced so that there shall not be more than one public-house to each 1,000 of the population in any urban area, and not more than one to each 600 of the population in any rural area.¹ But this reduc-

¹ This proposal is embodied in the United Temperance Bill, the Church of England Temperance Society's Bill, the Bishop of Chester's Bill, and the Manchester Bill. In the Westminster Bill the proposal is 1 per 1,000 in the urban centres, and 1 per 500 in the rural districts.

tion cannot be effected until the question of compensation has been dealt with.

COMPENSATION.

As far back as 1871, Mr. Bruce, in the great Licensing Bill which he brought forward on behalf of the Government of the day, provided that, at the expiration of ten years from the passing of the Act, all licences existing at its commencement should absolutely determine. That is to say, he gave a ten years' notice, and no money compensation. Sir William Harcourt's Liquor Traffic (Local Control) Bill of 1893, and his Intoxicating Liquor Traffic (Local Control) Bill of 1895, both gave what was practically a three years' notice and no money compensation.

The Bishop of Chester's Authorized Companies Liquor Bill provided (Clause 3) that, "*After the expiration of five years from the date of the establishment of an Authorized Company in any district, any licence not held by the Company shall not, save as in the Act provided, be renewed, and shall expire at the close of the period for which it was granted.*" There is a further provision that if a licence is surrendered before the expiration of the five years, compensation shall be paid for the unexpired period.

The proposals for compensation brought forward by Mr. Ritchie and Mr. Goschen in 1888 and 1890, on behalf of the powerful Government of which they were members, had, in both cases, to be withdrawn before the storms of opposition which they created.

Referring to this in the House of Commons on April 28th, 1891, Mr. John Morley said: "I will express my doubt whether any Minister will ever

again stand at that box and propose compensation by way of money payment." On the ground of abstract right, strong reasons may be urged against any form of compensation for the non-renewal of a licence after the expiration of the period for which the licence was granted. The risk of non-renewal is the condition under which this monopoly trade, carrying monopoly profits, is conducted. But with a view to the practical settlement of an urgent national question, we think it is clear that the line of least resistance will be a short-time notice, possibly accompanied by a provision for money compensation if the time period should be anticipated by the action of the community.

LOCAL VETO.

Preceding chapters will have indicated the belief of the writers that a prohibition policy is not likely to be permanently adopted in the large towns or cities of the United Kingdom. But the experience of the United States of America, Canada, Norway, and Sweden, extended over many years, indicates that the power of local veto would be successfully exercised in many rural and suburban districts, and, possibly, in some small towns. The sphere of its possible application can, however, only be determined by experience. The principle of local veto has been accepted by one of the great parties in the State, and has been embodied in two separate measures brought forward by the Government of the day. It enlists the enthusiastic support of a large majority of the Temperance party, and must necessarily form part of any great

measure of licensing reform which is to receive their united support.

If any village, town, or city, or any district of a town or city,¹ wished to be without a public-house, it should be able by a popular vote to give effect to its wish, independently of any previous decision of the licensing authority. The majority required to give effect to the veto should, however, in no case be less than two-thirds of those voting. If one or more wards in a city vetoed the placing of any licensed house within its limits, such licences should be actually cancelled, and not added to the number allotted to the other wards.

¹ In Sir William Harcourt's Intoxicating Liquor Traffic (Local Control) Bill of 1895, it was provided (Clause 9) that "the areas for the purposes of this Act shall be :—

- (a) in the case of a county or other municipal borough or urban district not divided into wards, that borough or district;
- (b) in the case of a county or other municipal borough or urban district divided into wards, a ward of that borough or district;
- (c) in any rural district a parish; or where such parish has been divided into wards for the purpose of the election of a council, a ward of that parish;
- (d) in London a sanitary district within the meaning of the Public Health (London) Act of 1891, or if such district, being outside the city of London, is divided into wards or comprises several parishes, then any such ward or parish, or where such last-mentioned parish is divided into wards, then any such ward."

PART II.

THE PROBLEM OF THE TOWNS.

THE foregoing proposals, it will be seen, are of a far-reaching character, and, if adopted by the legislature, would unquestionably lead to important reforms. But there is this to be said concerning them: that they contemplate only *restrictive* and *administrative* action, and contribute nothing to that positive and constructive policy which is so imperatively needed.

For the purposes of practical discussion let us assume that agreement has been come to upon the foregoing proposals, and that *inter alia* the number of public-houses in the United Kingdom has been reduced to the suggested statutory limit. How far, we may then ask, have we actually travelled in the direction of permanent reform?

It is estimated that a reduction in the number of licensed houses to a proportion of not more than one to each 600 of the population in rural districts, and to not more than one to each 1,000 of the population in the towns, would reduce the number of "On" licences in the United Kingdom by two-thirds, that is to say, from 126,000 to 42,000. If we make the fullest allowance for a still further reduction as the result of the operation of the popular veto—a reduction that probably would not be very great in the first instance—the number of licensed houses that would remain would still be very considerable. Now the question at once arises, What should be the policy and aim of Temperance reformers in respect of these? It cannot for one moment be supposed that the State

would consent to make a gift to the owners of these houses of the enormous addition to their value—amounting to several millions per annum—that would accrue from the closing of competing houses. Clearly, therefore, the nation would be compelled to adopt one of two alternatives. It must either agree to establish a system of High Licence (*i.e.* by allotting the permitted licences—as was proposed in Mr. Bruce's Bill¹—to the person or persons tendering the highest licence fee, or, if this method be disapproved, by drastic revision of the present statutory fees); or it must provide a scheme for taking the Trade out of private hands.

Under a system of High Licence certain important results would undoubtedly be achieved. The houses would be better conducted, and the licensing laws would in all probability be more easily and fully carried out, but *the menace of the Trade to the public life of the country would remain*; for, although the licensed houses would be fewer, they would be in the hands of wealthier and abler men, capable as an electoral force of more perfect organization and power. More-

¹ The Clause in Mr. Bruce's Bill bearing on this point was as follows: *Clause 13.*—"Where a new publican's general certificate is to be granted for any licensing district, the same shall be granted to the person who offers by tender, made as hereinafter mentioned, to pay for the same during the continuance of the certificate, the highest annual percentage on the annual value of his premises (in this Act referred to as a licence rent), and conforms to the provisions of this Act with respect to such tender and certificate, and the other matters hereinafter contained, and such certificate, when granted, may be attached to any premises selected by the grantee, and approved by the licensing justices."

over, the Trade would be left in the hands of those who would have every inducement to extend it. Not only so, but that liberation of the latent progressive resources of each community which, as we have seen, is the all-important principle of reform, so far from being facilitated, would encounter even more determined opposition from the interests involved in the traffic that remained.

THE ELIMINATION OF PRIVATE PROFIT.

It remains, therefore, to consider whether the first step towards an ultimate solution of the problem in the towns does not demand the complete elimination of private interest from the conduct of the traffic? The question may best be answered by a rapid survey of the chief objections to the present system.

(a) *Monopoly Values.*

Let us take the financial aspect of the question first. One of the most obvious of the drawbacks to the present system is the loss which the community suffers through the private appropriation of the "values" created by a monopoly licence.

The matter, it is true, is of less vital moment to the community than are the moral and political evils that result from the private conduct of the liquor traffic; but it is, nevertheless, of such enormous public importance as to make it almost incredible that the nation should so long have been indifferent to it.

Under the present system, a licence to retail alcoholic liquors carries with it a huge monopoly value, amounting frequently to thousands of pounds, to which the recipient has absolutely no claim. In

other words, the State, in conferring a licence, bestows upon the licensee at the same time a huge monetary gift, in the shape of an "unearned increment," to which he has not the smallest title, and for which he makes no return.

The absolute folly of the system can be best exposed by a few well-authenticated illustrations. Two years ago the Wharf Hotel premises, Sowerby Bridge, were sold by public auction for £4,150. Subsequently the licence was transferred to new premises in the neighbourhood, and the former building, stripped of its licence, was resold in November last for £785.¹ The licence, therefore, in this case clearly added £3,365 to the value of the house.

An even better illustration is that given by Mr. E. R. Pease in his recent pamphlet on *Liquor Licensing at Home and Abroad*.² "An acquaintance of mine is proprietor of an old-established, eminently respectable hotel, which for years had been unlicensed. A few years ago he obtained a licence, and speaking of it to me he said: 'It is worth £10,000 to me, and I got it for the asking.' Can any method of managing a public trust be more absurd? A monopoly worth £10,000 is granted for the asking, simply because the asker is eminently respectable!"³

¹ *Yorkshire Evening Post*, November 3rd, 1898.

² *Fabian Tract*, No. 85.

³ A similar case was described in the House of Commons by Mr. W. S. Caine on May 12th, 1890: "A man built a house a short time ago, close to Burscough Junction, a country station near Ormskirk, in Lancashire. It cost him £400. He applied for and got a beer licence; then he got a spirit licence; then he sold the house for £4,000. He walked into court worth £400; he walked out (with a certificate, for which he had paid nothing)

The following additional illustrations—which the present writers have been careful to authenticate—are equally suggestive of the folly that characterizes the present system. Eight years ago, a public-house was built in a northern colliery village, from which the traffic had hitherto been excluded. The actual cost of the building, exclusive of the land, was £6,500, but when licensed its rental value was immediately fixed at £1,000 a year, while at the present time it is let at a rental of £1,800 a year. Owing to an extension of the village—the population of which at the present time is about 12,000—a second and larger public-house, in the form of a fine hotel, has since been built, and this was recently sold for no less than £40,000—a price that was considered low!

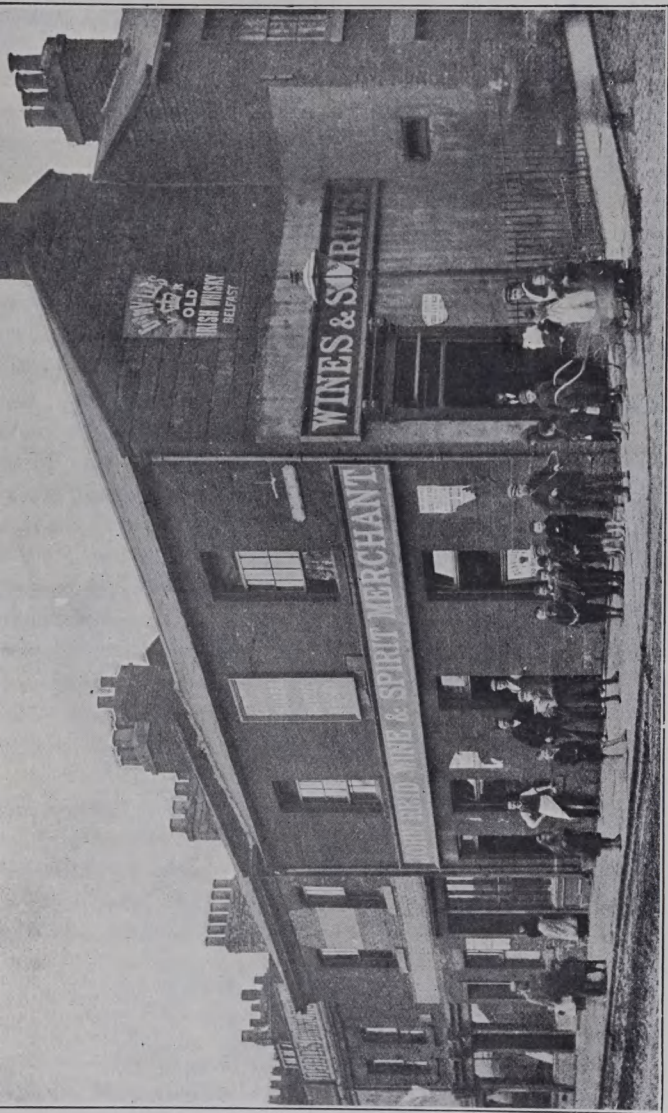
In another small northern town a new licence was granted in 1897 to a small house valued at £3,500. On receipt of the licence the owner immediately sold the house for £24,500! This sum was stated as the purchase price by the purchaser's solicitor when appearing before the licensing justices in 1898 in opposition to applications made on behalf of the late owner for two fresh licences in the neighbourhood of his client's house.

It would not be difficult, if space permitted, to multiply evidence on the point, but two further illustrations must suffice.

On July 1st, 1896, the "Crooked Billet," a fully licensed house situate in Scotswood Road, Newcastle—worth £4,000. What did the brewer, who bought his house for £4,000, get? Bricks and mortar worth £400, and the purely speculative chance—no doubt a good chance—of getting a twelve months' licence renewed."

on-Tyne, with cocoa rooms and dwelling-house adjoining, was sold at public auction. The house is one of the oldest hostelrys in Newcastle, and stands immediately opposite one of the entrances of the Armstrong-Whitworth Company's Works. The area of the property was stated to comprise 450 square yards. The attendance at the auction was very large, and the value of the house as licensed property was quickly demonstrated by the keen competition which characterized the bidding. Competition began with a bid of £10,000, and this was quickly followed by two advances of £1,000 each. The ultimate price reached was £15,800. The same house had been sold forty years earlier for £900, and no important structural alterations had been made in the interval. The house has since been pulled down and rebuilt.

The "Ord Arms" is another Newcastle house, situate in the same road as the "Crooked Billet," about a mile outside the boundary of the city, but opposite the gateway of a new yard that the Armstrong-Whitworth Company are intending to open. The house, a plain and unpretentious building, with about half an acre of land adjoining, was sold in 1898 for £28,100—a sum which the auctioneer afterwards acknowledged to be *twenty times its value without the licence*. The full extent of the monopoly value is easily realized when it is added that the Twizell estate in Northumberland, comprising a mansion and 700 acres of land, was sold by auction in the same week for £25,000! It is surely impossible to require a more scathing exposure of the folly of our existing licensing arrangements! It may be urged, of course, that the cases quoted are exceptional, but it is difficult to



"THE CROOKED BILLET" (NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE).

Sold for **£15,800** (See pages 339-340.)

believe that this is so in face of evidence that is everywhere available. The London *Daily Chronicle*, in its review of the Property Sales of 1897, described the competition for licensed property as follows: "The extraordinary prices which are realized for licensed property may be said to have reached their maximum when such sums are paid as £80,000 for a freehold ground rent of £8 per annum, secured on the Royal Oak public-house, Bayswater, with reversion to the premises in eight years; the Liverpool Arms and Royal Oak, Barking Road, £112,000; the Red Lion public-house, Walworth Road, Camberwell, held on a term of forty-nine years' lease, at a rental of £500 per annum, £50,000; the freehold of the French Horn and Half Moon public-house, East Hill, Wandsworth, with possession, £56,000; the Pontefract Castle public-house, Marylebone, with sixty years' lease, at a rental of £300 per annum, £49,500; the Crown, Lavender Hill, 49½ years, at £150 per annum, £46,850; and numerous others, ranging from £30,000 to £50,000."¹

The anomaly is intensified by the reluctance to grant new licences, which happily characterizes the policy of many local licensing authorities in England, since by concentrating the traffic it increases the competition for existing licences, and in this way greatly enhances their monopoly value. The full importance of this fact is sufficiently indicated by the growth in value of licensed property in London since 1850.

¹ The London City Mission in its Sixty-third Annual Report (published in 1898), in referring to the work of one of its agents in a poverty-stricken district near the docks, makes mention of two public-houses in the district which sold for £45,000 and £60,000 respectively.

In his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1854, Mr. Alderman Wire, the Secretary of the Licensed Victuallers' Association, stated that there were 6,000 licensed victuallers in the metropolitan district, the average value of whose houses could not be put down at "less than £1,000." The aggregate value of the licensed property in London he estimated at £6,000,000.¹

In 1872, according to the estimate of Professor Leone Levi,² the number of public-houses and beer-shops within the metropolitan area had risen to 10,000, and their average value to £1,500.

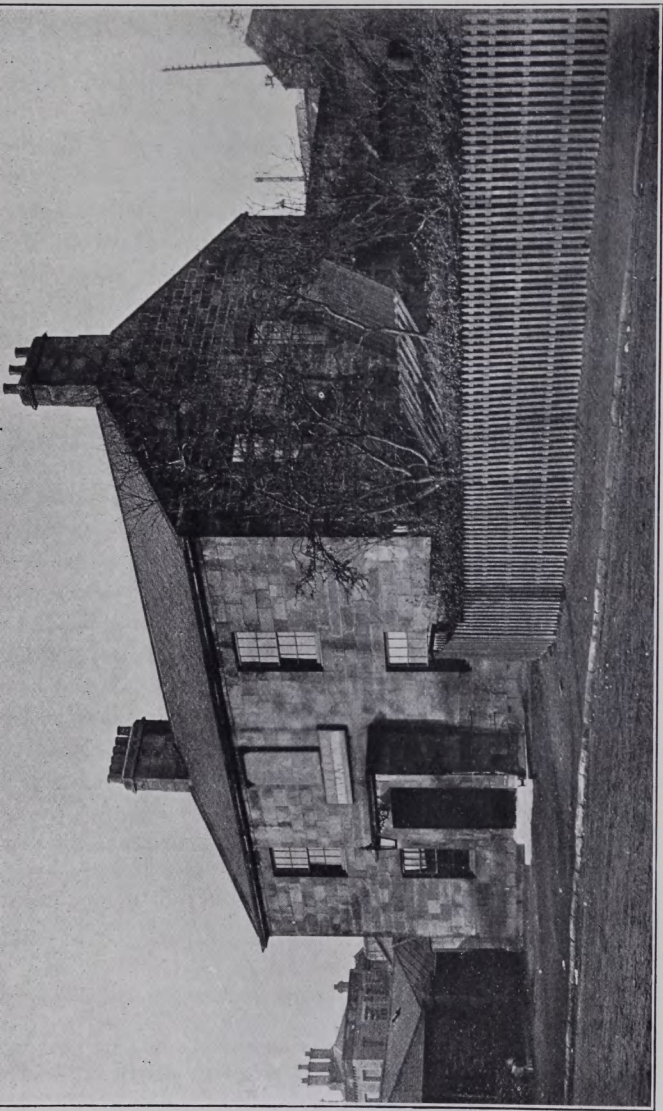
In 1897, on the other hand, according to the estimate of Mr. E. N. Buxton, a partner in one of the largest brewery firms in the country, the aggregate value of the licensed houses in London (including fully-licensed houses, beer-houses, "on" and "off," and refreshment houses, but excluding the large hotels) was, at a low estimate, £60,000,000³—a sum which, divided among the whole of the public-houses, beer-shops ("on" and "off"), and refreshment-houses in the Metropolitan Police area, gives an *average* value of between £5,000 and £6,000 per house.⁴ The average value of a fully-

¹ *Evidence of the Select Committee on Public-houses*, 1854, qq. 10,065-6.

² *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, vol. XXXV., part 1.—In his evidence before the Lords' Committee, five years later (*i.e.*, in 1877), Professor Levi estimated the average value of public-houses in the metropolis at £2,500.

³ *Evidence of the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, vol. III., p. 283.

⁴ The *total* number of public-houses, beer-shops ("on" and "off"), and refreshment-houses in the Metropolitan Police area in 1897 was 11,411.



THE "OLD ARMS" (NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE).

Sold for **£28,100**. (See page 340.)

licensed house in the metropolis (excluding the large hotels) is, of course, very much higher than this, and amounts, according to Mr. Buxton, to between £10,000 and £11,000.¹

It will thus be seen that the value of licensed property in London has increased fourfold within the last twenty-five years, while it is six times as great as it was in 1850.

That the anomaly should have gone so long unremedied is the more remarkable from the fact that considerable emphasis was laid upon it by the Lords' Committee on Intemperance in 1879. In referring to the matter in their Report, the Committee state: "Much evidence was given in favour of increasing the duty on excise licences for consumption of liquor on the premises. It has been already stated that one effect of the changes made by the Act of 1872 in the manner of granting such licences has been practically to prevent the increase of their number, while the operation of the Act of 1869 had been considerably to decrease the number of beer-house licences. The effect of this legislation has been largely to raise the value of this property, and it would seem but just that the public should receive a greater portion than hitherto of the profits of a monopoly thus artificially created."

The importance of the question is at last beginning to be realized, and the fact that it has been

¹ The statement may be given in Mr. Buxton's own words: "I have taken out the actual value at the present time of about 500 licensed houses, large and small. The value of those 500 houses, which are certainly a fair sample, is £5,367,000." (Average £10,734.)

publicly referred to in more than one licensing court in the course of the last few months is in itself a notable sign of an impending change.

Lord Provost Mitchell Thomson, addressing the Edinburgh Licensing Court on April 12th, 1898, occasioned some sensation by his pertinent remarks on the subject. "The dealing in licences," he said, "had become notorious. Grocers' licences were now sold at an average price of £1,000, and public-house licences realized, on an average, from £6,000 to £10,000. That money, he contended, belonged to the public. As the law stood, however, the Court had no right to any portion of these sums, but he intimated that in future he should be exceedingly jealous of granting new licences unless perfectly satisfied of the urgent need for the same."¹

The Chairman of the West Castle Ward Bench (Newcastle-on-Tyne), in his address to the Court in August last, was even more explicit. Referring to the new applications then before the Court, he said: "There are over twenty applications for new licences in the West Castle Ward, and the Bench is again face to face with a question which I submit should not in its present form be left to them to decide. As I ventured to point out last year, by the steady limitation of the number of licences, a monopoly has been established which causes such licences to become of very substantial value indeed. I suppose that each licence now applied for may be worth over £5,000, or, in other words, the Bench to-day is to be asked to grant licences worth £100,000; that is to say, to make a

¹ *Daily News*, April 13th, 1898.

present of £100,000 to certain parties for whose claim, in preference to others, there is no valid reason. Moreover, while the community gets no adequate *quid pro quo* for this, the erection of a public-house not infrequently reduces the value of the neighbouring property. In one case which has been named to me, an owner of a house in a suburban district found that his property was reduced £1,500 in value by the granting of a licence, which licence was shortly afterwards sold for more than £10,000. The magistrates of this county are here to administer justice. Can it be justice to rob Peter in order to pay a licensed victualler, who, though he may be a most worthy individual, will probably not even claim to be an Apostle Paul? . . . I stated this time last year, that the aggregate value of the licences in the city of Newcastle alone was probably £2,000,000, but it has been represented to me that £3,000,000 would be within the mark, and further, that the value is daily increasing. If this be the case, some conception may be formed of the huge vested interest, so to speak, which is growing up in our midst. You will find that the figures, as applied to the whole United Kingdom, mount up to a sum approaching in amount the National Debt itself. Another way of realizing what these figures mean, would be to say that a tax of 5 per cent. only upon the monopoly would pay off the whole debt of Newcastle City in from ten to fifteen years. Or, again, that 5 per cent. upon the value of the licences would pay more than half all the rates.”¹

In the face of figures such as these it is almost

¹ *Newcastle Evening Chronicle*, August 27th, 1898.

superfluous to urge that no reform of the licensing system can pretend to be final which does not grapple with and solve this problem of monopoly values. The values are State-created values, accidentally conferred upon private individuals in the effort of the State to safeguard a dangerous trade. Equity and reason, therefore, demand that they shall be appropriated for State or public ends.

(b) *The Pushing of Sales.*

But although the private appropriation of State-created values is a serious defect of our present system, it is of less importance to the community than are the moral and political evils that spring from a liquor traffic conducted for private gain. If the ultimate intent of a licensing system be, by limiting competition, to reduce to a minimum the evil consequences of the traffic, it is easy to see that our present system is fundamentally defective and vicious. It is, to begin with, difficult to diminish the evils of intemperance while we persist in giving the man who sells the liquor a direct pecuniary interest in the extent and value of his sales. The private interest of the publican demands that he shall push his trade by every device and attraction that can be brought within the letter of a curiously ambiguous law; while the interest of the State, on the other hand, requires that his trade shall be restricted and discouraged at every possible point. Sooner or later these opposing ideas must inevitably come into collision, and that they have already done so, with disastrous results to the community, is matter of widespread experience.

That the danger is not a new one, but one inherent in every licensing system that sanctions the principle of private profit, is clear from the concurrent testimony of widely divergent authorities. As far back as 1850, a Select Committee of the House of Lords—appointed to inquire into the operation of the Acts for the Sale of Beer—reported: "It was already sufficiently notorious that drunkenness is the main cause of crime, disorder, and distress in England; and it appears that the multiplication of houses for the consumption of intoxicating liquors, which under the Beer Act has risen from 88,930 to 123,396, has been thus in itself an evil of the first magnitude, not only by increasing the temptations to excess, which are thus presented at every step, but by driving houses, even those under the direct control of the magistrates, as well as others originally respectable, to practices, for the purpose of attracting custom, which are degrading to their own character, and most injurious to morality and order."

Referring to the extreme difficulty of controlling the traffic, the Committee continue: "But, perhaps, the evil of all the most difficult to deal with, is the absence of all control save by legal conviction; a result, by the common consent of all the witnesses who have spoken on the subject, almost impracticable to attain; the parties who frequent the beer-house being usually unwilling to give information of what passes within; and if they do, being met by other witnesses in contradiction, who are always ready for such a purpose, and who are sufficient to prevent the facts from being ascertained. The only fact of disorder, which is open to observation, is irregularity of

hours, and for this only are they practically amenable to the law.”¹

Four years later, another Select Committee—appointed by the House of Commons to examine into the system under which public-houses, hotels, beer-shops, etc., were then sanctioned and regulated—reported: “There are no doubt many publicans and beer-shop keepers who exercise the utmost vigilance to prevent drunkenness on their premises, and to keep bad characters out of their houses, and who spare no pains to conduct their business with respectability; but the temptation is strong to encourage intemperance, and a vast number of the houses for the sale of intoxicating drinks live upon drunkards and the sure progress of multitudes to drunkenness, whilst numbers of them are the habitual haunts of the idle and abandoned, of thieves, prostitutes, and the adepts and learners of crime.” Twenty-three years later the mischievous results of the existing system were once more brought before the attention of Parliament. The occasion was the memorable debate which took place in the House of Commons on March 13th, 1877, on Mr. Chamberlain’s motion in favour of permissive powers for the municipalization of the liquor traffic. In describing the defects of the present system, Mr. Chamberlain said:—

“Two hundred thousand licensed victuallers in this country were legitimately engaged in more or less successfully trying to increase their business. The result was seen in gin palaces blazing with gas, and decorated with a splendour which compared

¹ For illustration of this, see p. 273.

inversely with the squalor and misery of those who frequented those places; and when it was also seen that the old respectable public-houses were being transformed into spirit vaults and saloons, everybody must feel that this expenditure must have sufficient motive, and that excessive drinking returned a sufficient dividend upon the investment thus made. Again, excessive competition almost forced the Trade against their will to wink at abuses. . . . It was said that the existing law contained sufficient provisions for the regulation of the traffic and the prevention of excess. These provisions, however, absolutely broke down in practice, and so it happened that in Birmingham, Liverpool, and other large towns, while there was an enormous number of persons convicted and punished for drunkenness, hardly any of the owners of public-houses were ever brought up for supplying them with drink. . . . The only way, therefore, to secure the observance of existing regulations, or of any which in future might be devised, would be by making the interests of those who made the regulations and those who carried on the trade identical.”¹

In other words, the first principle in licensing reform must be the entire elimination of private profit from the conduct of the traffic. Until this has been effected, the public-house will continue largely to be what it admittedly often is at the present time, a nursery of drunkenness and crime, not only opposed to, but absolutely incompatible with, good morals and pure government. As matters stand at present,

¹ *Hansard's Debates*, vol. 232, pp. 1864-5.

the lucrative character of the traffic "defies all precautions and all restrictive legislation."¹

(c) *Evasion of Law.*

That this statement is not an unjust criticism of the present system is apparent from the evidence of those who are charged with the administration of public justice and law. Mr. Justice Grantham, speaking at the Liverpool Assizes in 1888, showed himself keenly alive to the disastrous social consequences that result from a traffic conducted for private gain. "I will do all I can," he said, "to take some steps to have houses dealt with where men who are served with liquor afterwards go out and half murder people. These publicans seem to serve men up to the last possible moment in order to make unholy profits out of this horrid traffic."

¹ The importance of this reform is beginning to be widely recognised. A recent writer, in discussing the problem of the slums in Leeds, says: "It is pretty clear, therefore, that public-houses exist as conveniences for sober people, but it is also clear that the system of payment by profit on liquor sold tends to encourage the publican in converting his customers into drunkards. My reason for dwelling so much on this point is to bring out the fact, that the management of public-houses by men who are interested in the sale of drink must ever tend to make licensed premises mere drinking-dens, and that, until this element of personal gain is eliminated, drunkenness will continue to be the natural outcome of attendance at the public-house. As I have already shown, the habit of attending these places is most prevalent in our slum districts, and, therefore, this question of management must form a very serious element in the production of the excessive drinking and drunkenness which there prevails."—D. B. FOSTER, *Leeds Slumdom*.

Reverting to the subject at the Liverpool Assizes in the following year, he said: "I cannot help thinking that those who have the control of public-houses do not put the law in force as it exists at present; or, if they do, it is quite clear we want some more drastic law, which will enable us to punish those who have it in their power to withhold drink from these people, but who, for the purpose of ill-gotten gain, go on giving drink so long as they can get people steady enough to give them money for it."

The question received special emphasis at several of the licensing courts in 1898. The Chairman of the Birmingham Licensing Sessions, in discussing a number of cases where publicans had been convicted of serving drunken persons, said: "Why do publicans draw the line so fine? They supply these people who a moment after are so drunk that they are fighting every one, and are a public nuisance, and yet these persons who are supposed to be skilled in the trade do not see it. Mr. Ansell gave an instance which had come under his personal observation of the manner in which a drunken person steadied himself when entering a public-house for more drink. . . . It was only occasionally that such matters came to the knowledge of the police and the justices, and they had to consider how difficult it was to hear of one-hundredth part of what occurred. There would not be so much drunkenness in the town if licence-holders would only do their duty."¹

The Stipendiary of Leeds, in discussing the same question in September last, spoke with equal plain-

¹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, August 26th, 1898.

ness and force. "These provisions (*i.e.*, those relating to the permitting of drunkenness on licensed premises)," he said, "are the cardinal provisions upon which the whole machinery of our licensing administration is hinged, and if they could be enforced with rigour and determination by a vigilant executive, and administered by an impartial tribunal, we should, as I believe, hear little of the necessity for licensing reform. Now, I am satisfied that in a certain number of public-houses and beer-shops—that is to say, in a comparatively small, though I am sorry I cannot add insignificant, number of such places—there is a systematic disregard of these provisions. I am satisfied that drunkenness there prevails systematically and extensively. I arrive at this conclusion not merely on the evidence given directly before me in connection with charges of robbery committed on these premises, but also, and indeed, more especially, as the result of careful investigation as to the whereabouts of criminals immediately prior to the commission of crimes committed by them when in a state of intoxication, and in particular crimes of violence committed within a few minutes of the hour of closing, and within a few yards of the doorway of a licensed house." ¹

Such statements could easily be multiplied, but it is hardly necessary to do so. They are simply referred to here to illustrate a condition of things to which no social worker can be indifferent, and which must be regarded as almost inevitable under a system of private licence.

¹ *Leeds Mercury*, September 22nd, 1898.

(d) *Opposition to Reform.*

If further evidence of the failure of the present system were required, it could easily be found in the attitude of licensed liquor dealers toward simple but important reforms. One illustration of this will suffice. Good citizens of all classes are agreed as to the necessity for modifying the regulations concerning the sale of drink to children, and of forbidding such sales to children under the age of thirteen. That such a modification is needed few who know anything of the methods adopted by publicans to attract children to their shops can doubt. Not only has the competition for out-door custom led the publicans to adopt what is known as the "long pull" (*i.e.*, an extra pull of liquor cast into the jug or bottle), but the visits of the children, for Sunday beer especially, have been directly encouraged by presents of sweets and toys. The practice has by no means been confined to one district. On the contrary, it has spread far and wide.

Mr. J. Anders, Police Court Missionary, writing to the *Wigan Observer* on September 2nd, 1897, said: "On a recent Sunday morning, from 12.30 to 1 o'clock, I saw, myself, no less than 164 children, ranging from eight down to three years of age, go into a licensed house and come out with beer and sweets."

In Preston, again, four public-houses were watched (in November, 1896) between 12.25 and 2.40 p.m., during which time 507 children came out with intoxicants. Each of these children was asked its age on leaving, and the following table gives the result:—

Three years old	30
Four " "	51
Five " "	65
Six " "	84
Seven " "	79
Eight " "	63
Nine " "	46
Ten " "	36
Eleven " "	24
Twelve " "	21
Thirteen,, "	8
<hr/>	
Total	507

In all these cases, gifts of sweets to the value of a halfpenny, or toffee-whistles—four a penny—were presented.

Finally, to give only one more instance, the Chief Constable of Manchester, reporting the result of a special inquiry in that city in August, 1897, said: "Of 2,992 houses in the city, 1,764 are, it appears, in the habit of serving children under thirteen with intoxicating liquors, and of this number 1,112 houses give sweets or other small inducements to the children."¹

It was natural that practices of so vicious a character should, sooner or later, lead to indignant reprehension and protest, and the licensing justices in many districts² have wisely interpreted popular feeling by not only forbidding the distribution of

¹ H. M. Johnson, *Children and Public Houses*, p. 4.

² No less than 100 Benches of Magistrates took action in the matter during 1896 and 1897.

sweets,¹ but what is far more important—by also raising the age limit, below which children may not be served, to thirteen. The latter reform, especially, is one which every good citizen must welcome, but it has yet to be embodied in law, and meanwhile it is encountering the strenuous and undisguised hostility of licence-holders' associations in different parts of the country. A few illustrations of this fact may be given. At the half-yearly Conference of the Council of the Licensed Victuallers' National Defence League, held at Portsmouth in September, 1897, a discussion took place on the question of sale to children. A delegate complained that in his town the Bench had asked licence-holders to exhibit a notice to the effect that children under thirteen years of age would not be served, and he asked for the council's advice. Thereupon, a resolution was passed to the effect that "such demands were illegal and uncalled for, and would unduly interfere with the convenience of the heads of families, one member suggesting that no notice should be taken of such demands, and that if necessary the matter should be fought out and taken to the High Court, while the Chairman urged "fighting for their rights to the last gasp."²

¹ The Chairman of the Birmingham Bench, in notifying the Trade of the unanimous resolve of the magistrates to raise the age limit to thirteen, and also to disallow the gift of sweets to children, added that in future they would regard all cases of sweet and toy distribution as "proof positive that a house where that was done was not needed for the legitimate wants of the neighbourhood. It would show them that the licence-holder was obliged to make a trade by bribing children, and the licensing magistrates would consider that when they were asked to grant a new licence in a succeeding year."

² *The Brewers' Almanack* for 1898, p. 59.

Two months later, a meeting of the United Parliamentary Council of the Retail Trade was held in London, at which the question was again considered, and a resolution passed to the effect "that the endeavour on the part of the magistrates to forbid the sale to children under thirteen years for 'off' consumption should be strenuously resisted, though the matter was one of public importance, affecting the liberties of the people, with which the Trade was not called upon to deal. The Trade were advised to continue in their former course, and to take no action in the matter."¹

Lastly—for space will not allow of further illustration—in the Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Plymouth, Devonport, Stonehouse, and District Wine, Spirit, and Beer Trade Protection Society, read at the annual meeting at Plymouth, on February 15th, 1898, the Committee state: "The question of serving children under thirteen years of age with liquor for consumption off the premises had been before the committee, who were unanimous in asking licence-holders to resist any attempt to enforce such prohibition as was suggested, which is an interference with their business entirely unwarranted by law."²

These extracts make painful reading, for they are additional evidence of the bitter and uncompromising determination of a powerful and well-organized trade to oppose the most necessary and reasonable reforms. But deplorable as such hostility is, it is the natural product of the system we have created. So long as

¹ *The Brewers' Almanack* for 1898, p. 60.

² *Western Morning News*, February 16th, 1898.

the publican has an interest in his sales, so long—human nature being what it is—is he bound to oppose himself to every reform that threatens to diminish his sales. The instinct of progress in a community is not only challenged at every point by a monopoly which the State itself has *accidentally* created, but is reduced to virtual impotence by an invincible desire for gain.

(e) *The Tied House System.*

The evils of the present system are still further intensified by the Tied House System, to which reference has already been made. The mischievous features of that system have been so often described that they need not be detailed here, but it is impossible to overlook the effect of the system in intensifying the evils of private profit, and so increasing the social and political menace.

Under this system the great liquor "Rings" have become gigantic monopolies with well-nigh absolute powers—at least so far as their tenants are concerned—whose methods, according to the report of a Special Committee of the Chester Quarter Sessions, have "a direct effect upon the character and conduct" of the "tied" houses. "In the case at least of the lower public-houses, the publican is driven, by the terms of his relation to the brewer, in the matter of the supply of liquor, to make a livelihood as best he may, is under pressure to sell drink, by legitimate or illegitimate means, cannot afford to turn away any customer in order to keep his house respectable, but is led to admit every one, though already in liquor or disorderly, or of known bad character. It is clear from

the whole scope of the Licensing Acts that the main object of the Legislature was to secure the responsible conduct of a public-house by a person responsible to the justices, and to the justices alone. . . . But where the Tied House System prevails, the provisions of the Licensing Acts relating to the record upon or endorsement of the licence are rendered nugatory; the series of clauses relating to repeated convictions are set at nought, and these guarantees relied upon by the Legislature for the regulation and orderly conduct of the licensed houses entirely fail of effect."¹

These statements, let it be noted, are not the criticisms of Temperance advocates, but are the deliberate and careful pronouncements of responsible magistrates possessed of full knowledge of the working of licensing law.

It was this feature of the system which led *The Times*, when referring to the matter in 1891, to say: "Some may perhaps think that, in the interests of the community, complete control of a house by a prosperous and respectable brewer is better than the more or less independent discretion of a needy tradesman. The objection is that the natural tendency of a brewer is simply to push the sale of his beer. Provided no forfeiture of licence be incurred, the especial manner in which the business is conducted does not matter much to him. His main desire is that the neighbourhood shall drink as much

¹ *Report of the Committee appointed at the Easter Quarter Sessions (1891) "to examine into the state and effect of the Law relating to the Licensing of Houses for the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors,"* p. 12.

as possible. His servant the publican, who has little or no property invested in the premises, has no strong personal motive for caution. He wishes to ingratiate himself with his employer by promoting a liberal consumption. The fear of risking the licence affects him far less than if it meant for him positive commercial ruin. From the point of view even of the customers, it has been felt that a spread of the monopoly of the brewers is inconvenient. . . . Practical experience, at all events, has created a keen jealousy of the system of tied houses, and a determination to make a stand against its unlimited predominance.”¹

To revert, then, to the point from which we started, and to which an impartial examination of the evidence has recalled us at every turn, it is the deliberate judgment of the present writers, founded upon careful and exhaustive examination of the facts, that complete and satisfactory reform of the liquor traffic is impossible so long as it is organized and conducted from motives of private gain.

It is unfortunate that, hitherto, in the discussion of proposals for taking the trade out of private hands, emphasis has been laid upon non-essential points, to the neglect of the main principle involved. A great principle of practical politics must, however, be judged “not by the way in which men have only half applied it, or have applied it amiss, but by its value when properly applied and safeguarded.” Under the present system there exists a monopoly trade admittedly dangerous, which it is the interest

¹ *Times*, September 12th, 1891.

of the State to restrict, but the profits and conduct of which are put into the hands of those who have every inducement to extend it. "Two such powerful passions as the lust for money and the craving for spirits are allowed so to combine, that the force of each is increased to unnatural proportions."

While it is in the interest of the State that there should be a progressive advance in Temperance sentiment and practice, it establishes in each licensed house a centre of opposition to such advance. The observance of the regulations required for the safeguarding of a dangerous trade is, in practice, left in the hands of those who have a direct pecuniary interest in evading them. Finally, under the existing licensing system, the liquor monopoly has been made so powerful that it not only plays an important part in determining the results of municipal and political elections, but threatens to dominate the British Parliament as the slave power dominated the Legislature of Washington.

Surely the evils of intemperance, taken alone, are sufficient without adding to them those which are the creation of law.

It is upon these broad and far-reaching considerations that we desire to concentrate attention. The suggestions contained in a particular scheme may, or may not, be found defective; but if the thought be once accepted that the trade cannot safely be left in private hands, the English people, with their practical sagacity, will not be long in discovering a method for carrying it into effect.

It was of a proposal embodying this principle that Mr. Gladstone wrote, in September of 1894: "In

principle you are working upon the only lines either promising or tenable."

He added: "I am friendly to Local Option, *but it can be no more than a partial and occasional remedy.*"

Writing later in the same month, he said:—

"I have in no respect receded from former declarations as to Local Option. My opinion in its favour remains unaltered, but I hope more may be done for coping with the frightful evil than Local Option, if it stand alone, seems likely to effect."

On another occasion, speaking in the House of Commons, he said: "Why is it that the position of the public-houses in this country of ours is different from and lower than it is in any country in Europe? That is the result of the management which we have followed, and the number [of public-houses] does not in the slightest degree tend to mitigate that statement. I am one of those who see the utmost, incurable, radical, and profound mischief from what is called the publican's monopoly, and not through any fault of the publican or, indeed, of any one. *My firm belief is that as long as the monopoly connected with private interests belongs to the Trade, you will never have true and efficient police supervision exercised over the public-houses, and without that they must continue to hold the disparaged and unsatisfactory position which they do hold now, and have held for many generations.*"¹

In 1877, Mr. Chamberlain brought before Parliament a resolution affirming it to be "desirable to

¹ Speech on the second reading of the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Duties Bill. May 15th, 1890. *Hansard's Debates.*

empower the Town Councils of boroughs under the Municipal Corporations Acts to acquire compulsorily, on payment of fair compensation, the existing interests in the retail sale of intoxicating drinks within their respective districts; and thereafter, if they see fit, to carry on the trade for the convenience of the inhabitants, but so that no individual shall have any interest in nor derive any profit from the sale." In submitting his resolution, Mr. Chamberlain explained that the Birmingham Town Council, by a majority of forty-six to ten, and the Board of Guardians unanimously, had passed resolutions in favour of the proposal. The clergy of the city, also, with one dissentient, had passed a resolution approving the principle of the scheme, while it had also been submitted to the Wesleyan ministers of the town with a similar result. Moreover, he had that day "presented a petition in its favour from the Birmingham branch of the United Kingdom Alliance." Mr. Bright, Mr. Samuel Morley, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Sir John Kennaway, Sir Mountstuart Grant-Duff, and Mr. Leonard Courtney were among those who voted in favour of the resolution.

Sir Wilfrid Lawson, while admitting that he could not agree with everything in the resolution, nevertheless asserted that "it would, if passed, be the most deadly blow which this generation has seen struck at the liquor traffic as it at present exists." The present licensing system, he urged, had "failed utterly; and why? Because every individual trader in this business is paid by results. He is paid exactly in proportion to the amount of drink which he can get his fellow-creatures to consume." He added:

"I support this resolution because, with all its drawbacks, it strikes a deadly blow at the present licensing system, and because, although that is not its direct object, it does place the power of prohibiting the liquor traffic in the hands of 200 municipal councils, representing 6,000,000 of inhabitants. And, therefore, although I know that many of my best friends and supporters will say I am wrong in taking the course I propose to do, yet I cannot resist on this occasion doing what little there is in my power to support an earnest, honest, and able attempt to deal with the greatest evil of our day and generation."¹

Mr. Chamberlain, as is well known, is as firm a believer in the system he then advocated as ever. Lord Aberdare, formerly Mr. Bruce, who prepared the great Bill of 1871, was a supporter of the principle. The same principle forms the basis of the scheme advocated by the Bishop of Chester, who has done so much to familiarize the public mind with its nature and importance.

But how is the realization of this principle to be effected? Probably the most suggestive experiment in this direction is that represented by the Norwegian Company system, which has already been described. That this system would need modification in any attempt to apply it to this country will be apparent from what has already been said in criticism of the system in the previous chapter, but, in its fundamental principle, it undoubtedly furnishes the most valuable practical suggestion for effecting the reform in question. It would therefore seem to be

¹ *Hansard's Debates*, vol. 232.

important that the first step in the direction of reform should be to confer upon localities the power of granting a monopoly of the entire retail traffic within their borders either to companies formed for that purpose upon which the municipal councils shall be directly represented, or, under clearly defined safeguards, to the councils themselves.

THE NEED FOR CONSTRUCTIVE AS WELL AS CONTROLLING REFORMS.

But it is important here to urge—what is too often forgotten by those interested in this question—that the adoption of the controlling system, while effective in withdrawing the traffic from private hands, would not, by itself, adequately solve the problem. For what is the problem? Men go to the public-house—young men especially—quite as much for social intercourse, and for escape from their surroundings, as for drink. The love of drink—as the *Times* pointed out twenty-five years ago¹—“is a symptom only: it is not the disease, and we should be wrong to deal with it as if it were. A man drinks, not only because his brute nature is strong and craves the stimulus, but because he has no other interests, and must do something; or because his home is uncomfortable and his life dull, and he needs some real enjoyment; or because he is fond of company, and only wishes to be like the rest.”

A writer already quoted,² in describing the slums of Leeds, puts the matter with admirable clearness and

¹ October 10th, 1873.

² D. B. Foster, *Leeds Slumdom*.

force. "Most of the men," he says, "have some particular public-house to which they go nearly every night in the week—it is their sitting-room—their own home being a sort of kitchen where the servant (the wife) does the household drudgery. When tea is over the man retires from the kitchen to the *sitting-room* (as men in higher society do) to spend the evening with his friends.

"The publican (whether it be a tied house or his own) secures his remuneration for the convenience from the profits made on the liquor sold. This being well understood, 'the good of the house' is not easily overlooked. . . . It cannot be denied that many of these men become so fond of the drink for its own sake, that this idea of payment for convenience never enters their minds. Nevertheless, in the earlier stages of their public-house-going, and amongst those who have never allowed the drink to get the master over them, no doubt this thought is often present, and consequently is a force to be reckoned with."

It is this aspect of the question which gives the problem its great urgency, as well as its great difficulty, in the towns and cities of the United Kingdom. To realize it fully, one needs not only an intimate acquaintance with present social conditions, but also a knowledge of the effect which such conditions undoubtedly have in vitiating the tastes and habits of many who suffer from them.

The moral and social problems are inextricably related, and can hardly be separately discussed. We are not here concerned to fix the extent of the relation, but simply to recognise it. Such recognition is not difficult when one considers the tyrannous

sordid circumstances that govern the lives of vast numbers of our town populations at the present time. For them life is too often a maimed existence, a cruel, unceasing struggle for bare subsistence, or at best "a dull monotonous *chiaroscuro*," which, if not distressing, is utterly joyless. It is no wonder if, dulled and half stupefied by the close air and ill odours of the slum tenement or workshop, they should turn to the beer-house or gin-shop for temporary excitement and relief.

Mr. Robert Blatchford, author of *Merrie England*, than whom few have a more intimate knowledge of the lives of the poor, has recently summed up the situation in words which we cannot do better than quote. "Imagine," he says, "for a moment the common lot of our London poor. Ignorant and untrained minds, weary and unhealthy bodies, gloomy and demoralizing environment, monotony and weariness of life, out of these evils spring the seeds of vice. Drudging in their vile stews day after day, night after night . . . always with the black future, like an ominous cloud, casting its chill shadow on their anxious hearts; always with the mean walls hemming them in, and the mean tasks wearing them down, and the mean life paralysing their sick souls; with no pleasure but drink, with no club but the public-house, with work precarious and wages low, in hateful and cheerless surroundings, and with faint hopes ever narrowing, the toiling millions bring their worn bodies and bewildered souls to fight against the devil and all his works—and the devil, amongst other weapons, uses gin. Out in the horrible East the women drink. What wonder! If you go amongst these poor women you will feel suddenly stricken old.

. . . What culture have these poor creatures ever known? What teaching have they had? What graces of life have come to them? What dowry of love, of joy, of sweet and fair imagination? Think what their lives are, think what their homes are, think of the darkness and confusion of their minds, and then say, is it a marvel if they take to gin?"¹

The analysis of the problem in that statement may not be quite exhaustive; there may be, even in the lives of the poor, aspects of invincible cheerfulness of which it takes no account; but its general penetrating truthfulness no one with knowledge can impugn.

It will help to a clearer view of this aspect of the problem if we consider the actual life circumstances of those for whom the public-houses to a large extent exist.

THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY.

We select, first, the problem of poverty. In reporting on the economic condition of the working classes in 1885, the Royal Commissioners on Housing say:—

"Apart from the demoralizing influence of the surroundings in which their lives are passed, it must be borne in mind that the work and wages of a large proportion of the dwellers in the poorest quarters are most precarious, and the uncertainty of their incomes is sufficient cause to discourage them from struggling after better homes. It has been said of them that 'they are never a shilling ahead of the world'; they have just enough to get through the week, and in the

¹ *Morning Leader*, September 2nd, 1893.

best of times are sure to be a week in arrear in purchasing power. . . . Evidence has been given to show how uncertain is the employment of the majority, how a period of comparative prosperity may be followed by a period of enforced idleness, and how consequently their existence and subsistence can only be described as from hand to mouth. But even if employment were regular, the wages are so low that existence must be a struggle at the best of times. A large class of persons whose earnings are at the lowest point are the costermongers and hawkers, whose average appears to be not more than ten or twelve shillings a week. This represents continuous toil, and although the income is a most precarious one, yet it is not rendered so by days and seasons of idleness, as is the case in occupations about to be mentioned, but it is dependent upon the state of the market. . . . The average of labourers' wages among the residents in Clerkenwell is said to be about sixteen shillings a week, and this, of course, means that there are many who earn less. This, also, is about the figure at which labour is said to be obtainable at Bristol. Sack-making and slop-tailoring are two occupations carried on to a great extent in the homes of the poor, and they are both remunerated at starvation wages. Artizans, of course, command a higher wage, and twenty-five shillings a week seems to be an ordinary rate for many of that class who inhabit tenement houses."

But these particulars, depressing as they are, give a very inadequate idea of the problem. In East London alone—as Mr. Charles Booth has shown us—

no less than 314,175 persons, or 35 per cent. of the total population, belong to families whose weekly earnings amount to less than a guinea a week. In the central districts of South London, comprising a population of 390,000, matters are even worse, no less than 47 per cent. of the population being below the poverty line. In St. Pancras, again, out of a population of 234,379 persons, 30 per cent. are poor. Further West, in the neighbourhood of Lisson Grove, there are 50,000 persons, *half* of whom are poor.

It will be urged, and rightly, that the appalling character of these figures only intensifies the folly and wastefulness of excessive indulgence in drink. That is a proposition which does not admit of discussion. But from another point of view—the point of view of the people themselves—the figures have another significance. They show, oppressively and powerfully, how inevitably narrow the lives of the people are, and how strong must be the craving for expansion and excitement. So long as the community in its social arrangements refuses to recognise this, so long will the public-house continue to exert its baneful and demoralizing influence.¹

¹ In answer to this line of argument, it is sometimes said, "Induce a man to give up the drink, and he will soon better his surroundings." This is often true, especially with men of force of character; but how many of the 1,246,615 persons living two or more to a room in London are likely, amidst surroundings which depress health and weaken the will-power, to give up the drink when they are unable to find social enjoyment except in connection with its sale.

THE HOUSING OF THE PEOPLE.

A closely related problem is that presented by the sanitary and other conditions under which so many thousands of the people live. The gravity of this problem cannot well be exaggerated. As the *Spectator* recently pointed out¹: "A large part of the population of London and of all our large cities live in dwellings which keep down the level of civilization. The conditions of decent and healthy life are not to be had in them. They are overcrowded, they are under-ventilated, they are wanting in the most elementary requirements of decent sanitation."

The terrible truthfulness of these statements it is only too easy to show.

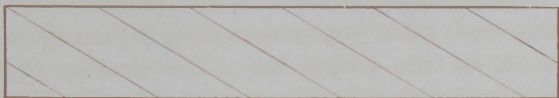
(a) *Density of Population.*

A healthy city—according to the late Sir B. W. Richardson—should have a density of population not exceeding 25 persons to the acre. What are the actual facts? In 1896 the population of the Administrative County of London was 4,433,018, distributed at the rate of 59 persons to the acre. These figures, however, are deceptive, and give no true idea of the actual density of population in the industrial districts of the city. In St. George's-in-the-East, with 47,506 inhabitants, the density of population in 1896 was 199 persons to the acre; in Whitechapel (population, 35,111), 202; in St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark (population, 60,278), 212; in

¹ December 10th, 1898.

DIAGRAM

Showing the Density of Population in certain London parishes,
as compared with Sir B. W. Richardson's standard for a
healthy city.



SIR B. W. RICHARDSON.

25 persons to the acre.



ST. GEORGE'S-IN-THE-EAST and WHITECHAPEL.

Total population, 82,617.

200 persons to the acre.

[56 lines.]



ST. GEORGE THE MARTYR, SOUTHWARK, and ST. ANNE, SOHO.

Total population, 180,326.

215 persons to the acre.

[60 lines.]



MILE END, NEW TOWN, and CHRIST CHURCH, SPITALFIELDS.

Total population, 35,871.

312 persons to the acre.

[87 lines.]

St. Anne, Soho (population, 12,048), 227; while in Mile End, New Town (population, 12,816), and Christchurch, Spitalfields (population, 23,055), the figures reached the almost incredible density of 305 and 316 persons to the acre respectively.

In the principal provincial cities, the figures, although not equalling those of London, are nevertheless excessively high. In Manchester, for example, while the average density of population is comparatively low, being at the rate of 40 persons per acre for the whole of the city, there are districts so crowded as almost to rival the central districts of London.

The following may be taken as illustrations of these:—

Ward.	Population. (1891.)	No. of Persons per acre.
SOUTH MANCHESTER:		
All Saints	23,609	104
Medlock Street	32,827	167
NORTH MANCHESTER:		
New Cross	45,982	130
Harpurhey	37,050	192

(b) *Overcrowding.*

Even these figures, however, give a very inadequate idea of the evil. A much clearer view is presented in the statistics of overcrowding. In order to understand these, let us once more start with a standard. The late Professor Huxley, in describing the conditions of health, laid down the principle that "to be supplied with respiratory air in a fair state of purity, every man ought to have at least 800 cubic feet of space to himself." This amount of space—the minimum required for health—would represent *for each person a*

room ten feet by ten feet and eight feet high.¹ Now with this standard in our minds let us examine the actual figures.

In 1891 there were in England and Wales no fewer than 3,258,044 persons, forming 11·23 per cent. of the entire population, living under crowded conditions, *i.e.*, in tenements containing *more than two persons per room*.

Of these overcrowded persons :—

357,707	lived in one-room tenements.			
1,124,056	„	„	two	„
951,877	„	„	three	„
824,404	„	„	four	„

If we turn to London, the figures are very much worse. The total number of tenements² of all kinds in London in 1891 was 937,606, of which 172,502, or 18 per cent., were *one-room* tenements; 189,707, or 20 per cent., *two-room* tenements; 153,189, or 16 per cent., *three-room* tenements; and 115,171, or 12 per cent., *four-room* tenements. In other words, more than two-thirds of the tenements in London consist of from one to four rooms only.

It is almost impossible to realize the terrible import of these figures. To deal with one-room tenements only, the figures show that *one in every eleven of the population in London* is either a solitary occupant of

¹ In the poorer parts of London, according to Mr. Charles Booth, the rooms range in size from fourteen feet by twelve feet to eight feet by eight feet, the height from floor to ceiling varying from eight to ten feet.

² By a "tenement" is to be understood any house or part of a house separately occupied either by the owner or by a tenant.

a one-room tenement, or a member of a family which has but one room for all the purposes of life. In that one room the entire family—father, mother, sons, and daughters—has to sleep, wash, dress, cook, and eat its meals, and find its social life. The room, in short, in sickness as in health, has to be bedroom, kitchen, sitting-room, and—in thousands of cases—workroom combined.¹

The thought is appalling ; but it does not cover the facts. The statement is far from complete. The proportion of one-room tenements, although an important test of overcrowding, is not an exhaustive one, inasmuch as many of the occupants of two, three, and even four-room tenements live under crowded conditions. While, for example, 386,489 persons, or 9 per cent. of the total population of London, lived in one-room tenements in 1891, more than 830,000 persons, or 20 per cent. of the population, lived under crowded conditions (*i.e.*, *more than two persons to a room*).

The actual conditions that prevail can be more readily seen from the following table, which includes

¹ The following instances of overcrowding—by no means exceptional—were reported at a recent meeting of the London County Council. In St. George's-in-the-East a man and his wife and their family of eight occupied one small room. This family consisted of five daughters, aged twenty, seventeen, eight, four, and an infant, and three sons, aged fifteen, thirteen, and twelve. In Whitechapel a man and his wife and their three daughters, aged sixteen, eight, and four, and two sons, aged ten and twelve years, occupied a smaller room. In Bethnal Green a man and his wife, with four sons, aged twenty-three, twenty-one, nineteen, and sixteen years, and two daughters, aged fourteen and seven respectively, were also found in one room.—*Daily News*, January 18th, 1899.

tenements containing *two persons and upwards* to a room. The total number of persons living in such tenements was 1,246,615, of whom:—

762,417	lived	two and under three persons to a room.
298,994	„ three „	four „ „
114,714	„ four „	five „ „
43,443	„ five „	six „ „

while 27,047 lived in tenements containing *from six to twelve persons to a room*.

If we turn to the provinces, a very similar condition of things appears. The following table gives particulars of overcrowding in several provincial towns:—

TOWN.	No. of Persons living more than Two to a room.	Proportion of Total Population. Per cent.
Gateshead	34,943	41
Newcastle-on-Tyne	65,347	35
Sunderland	43,038	33
Plymouth	22,128	26
Halifax	19,147	21
Bradford	44,598	21

If we include the larger cities, the numbers are considerably increased. In Birmingham no fewer than 68,221 persons live in tenements containing more than two persons to a room; in Leeds, 60,482; in Liverpool, 56,765; in Manchester, 41,718; and in Sheffield, 37,552.

THE EFFECTS OF OVERCROWDING.

The physical and moral effects of such overcrowding can be better imagined than described, but we have a few broad clues to guide us.

Professor Huxley, in describing the physical results of breathing impure air, said: "In the case of breathing the same air over and over again, the deprivation of oxygen and the accumulation of carbonic acid cause injury long before the asphyxiating point is reached. . . . It need hardly be said that the persistent breathing of such air tends to lower all kinds of vital energy and predisposes to diseases." If there were any disposition to doubt this statement, a moment's analysis of the death rates in crowded districts would effectually dispel it.

The "corrected" death rate of Hampstead (a wealthy suburban district) for the ten years 1886-1895, was 14·3 per 1,000; for Lewisham (also a suburban district), 15·4; and for St. George's, Hanover Square (a wealthy west-end parish), 18·1. The death rate for St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark, for the same period, was 28·5; for St. George's-in-the-East, 29·9; and for the Strand division (including Soho), 30·0. In the provinces the figures are much the same. Taking the same period (*i.e.*, 1886-95) the death rate in Leeds was 23·5; Sheffield, 24·0; Salford, 28·0; Liverpool, 28·5; and Manchester, 29·0. In his "Report on the Health of Greater Manchester," in the years 1891-93, Dr. Tatham says: "We are almost forced to the conclusion that in Manchester men grow old sooner than in the country as a whole. The vitality of men at fifty-seven in Manchester is about equal to that of men at sixty-five in England; and the expectation of life at fifty-eight-and-a-half in Manchester is equal to that of men at sixty-five in England." That a part, and perhaps a great part, of the excess of mortality which the figures for Man-

chester show, is inseparable from life and work in a great manufacturing town, Dr. Tatham admits to be "possible and even probable." But to discuss that is to open up a question with which we at present are not concerned. Our immediate purpose is simply to illustrate the depressing and demoralizing conditions under which the people who crowd the public-houses live.

In referring to this aspect of the problem, the Royal Commissioners on Housing (1885) say :—

"In considering what are the effects moral and material of the present conditions of the housing of the working classes, especially in the Metropolis, it will be convenient still to deal with overcrowding as a centre evil around which most of the others group themselves. . . . If there has been some attempt to throw doubt on overcrowding and the single-room system being the immediate cause of immorality, no one has ventured to express an opinion that they are not most destructive to bodily health. . . . Even statistics of actual disease consequent on overcrowding would not convey the whole truth as to the loss to health caused by it to the labouring classes. Some years ago the Board of Health instituted inquiries in the low neighbourhoods to see what was the amount of labour lost in the year, not by illness, but from sheer exhaustion and inability to do work. It was found that upon the lowest average every workman or workwoman lost about twenty days in the year from simple exhaustion, and the wages thus lost would go towards paying an increased rent for a better house. There can be little doubt but that the same

thing is going on now, perhaps even to a greater extent. That overcrowding lowers the general standard, that the people get depressed and weary, is the testimony of those who are daily witnesses of the lives of the poor."

It is for these "depressed" and "weary" ones that what Lord Randolph Churchill called the "fatal facility of the public-house" is so perilously attractive, since it appears to offer them the easiest way of escape from the oppressive circumstances of their lives.¹

CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT.

But the problem has not yet been fully stated. To understand the measure of the appeal which the public-house makes to the industrial classes it is necessary to realize not only the conditions under which the people *live*, but also those under which they *work*.

That the conditions of labour have been made less arduous in recent years is happily indisputable. But when all changes and improvements have been allowed for, the fact remains that the conditions of labour are still extremely irksome, and often painfully exacting. The introduction of the factory system and the more extensive use of machinery, while they have lessened the physical burden of work, have added to it

¹ For a statement of the relation of overcrowding to intemperance, see Appendix, p. 598. In this connection it is interesting to note that at the Seventh International Temperance Congress to be held in Paris in April, 1893, one of the items on the agenda is "Tenements for Workmen and their Influence on Habitual Inebriety."

a nervous tension and an extreme monotony which are not only harmful to health, but in some cases so depressing as to be positively destructive of mental development. If to these conditions be added the incessant noise and whirr of the machinery, the noxious heat and dust-laden air of the workshops and factories, and the close and continuous confinement, the attractiveness of the public-house in the hours of relaxation can easily be realized.

(a) *Mortality Statistics.*

Some idea of the effect of these conditions upon the workers may be gathered from the mortality statistics for various industries. Speaking generally, the mortality of occupied males in industrial districts exceeds by one-third the average for all occupied males at the age-groups 45-55, and 55-65.¹

The average mortality of textile workers at the ages 15-20 is 33 per cent. above the standard for all occupied males, and 11 per cent. above the standard at ages between 25 and 65. Among metal workers, of whom there were nearly three-quarters of a million above the age of 15 in England and Wales in 1891, the comparative mortality figure at ages 25-65 is higher than the standard by 18 per cent. Among general labourers in industrial districts the comparative mortality figure exceeds the standard for all occupied males by 58 per cent.; while among potters and earthenware workers it exceeds the standard by no less than 79 per cent.

¹ *Supplement to the 55th Annual Report of the Registrar-General for England and Wales.*

(b) *Relation of Employment, etc., to Drink.*

That conditions which are so fatal to the physical well-being of the workers must also play an important part in their demoralization will be too apparent to need much illustration, but a not unimportant clue to the relation which such conditions bear to drink is afforded by the statistics of deaths from alcoholism.

The following table¹ gives the particulars of mortality from alcoholism in a simple comparative form. The mortality of all occupied males has been expressed as 100, and the mortality in each of the separate classes compared has been reduced to a figure proportional to that standard:—

	Deaths from alcoholism Ratio.
All Occupied Males (England and Wales) . .	100
Occupied Males, Agricultural Districts . . .	54
" " London	138
" " Industrial Districts	146

It thus appears that the mortality from alcoholism is nearly 50 per cent. higher in the industrial districts than the average for the kingdom generally, and 170 per cent. higher than the average for the agricultural districts.

THE NEED FOR RECREATION.

Now it would be idle to suppose that the problem which the foregoing facts and figures unitedly represent could be effectually solved by any scheme of temperance reform. That is not here suggested. But

¹ Compiled from the *Supplement to the 55th Annual Report of the Registrar-General.*

it cannot be doubted that a scheme of reform which frankly recognised the existence of these conditions, and sought to counteract their demoralizing influence by providing new opportunities of healthful recreation—cheerful, joyous, attractive—would do much to hasten the solution of the problem. In any case these facts and figures have a serious and urgent importance for the temperance reformer. They show how natural is the mental recoil of the people from the irksomeness and sordidness of their daily lives; how insistent must be the appeal of their natures for relaxation and change, and how almost irresistible, in the absence of other adequate arrangements for their recreation, must be the meretricious attractions of the public-house. It is this aspect of the question that appeals so strongly to those who have intimate knowledge of the lives of the poor. They see that at bottom the Temperance question is largely “an entertainment of the people” question, and that, as things are now, the publican finds his great opportunity in a serious deficiency in our public arrangements for the pleasures and recreations of the people. In a recently published article on “Settlements and Recreations,” the late Secretary of the Mansfield House Settlement, Canning Town, has put the matter so clearly that we venture to quote at some length. After a brief reference to the “homes” of the people in East and South London, the writer proceeds:—

“So much for a bare suggestion of the conditions, wonderfully different from those of most of the readers of this book. But is human nature in Deptford, Bermondsey, or Bethnal Green as strikingly differ-

ent from that in Hampstead, Kensington, or Clapham? Not at all. In all, man is a social being, desiring converse with his fellows; in all, his constitution demands the alternation of work and play, of strain and relaxation, of expenditure of effort and renewal of power—in a word, that continual *recreation* that is necessary to restore the elasticity of life. The difference is not in the need, but in the means of satisfying it.

“How, for instance, can a man invite a few of his ‘pals’ to spend a social evening at his house, when he has no house but a tenement that will not hold himself, his ‘missus’ and the ‘kids,’ without grave discomfort, and the one room must often serve as kitchen, wash-house, sitting-room, nursery, and bedroom, if not workroom as well? Even with the better-off, who have three whole rooms to themselves, the sitting-room is much too small for anything like social purposes. It is wonderful what a steady man and a clever managing wife can do with such places, but there are limits the best can never pass, and we have to deal in these matters with the great mass, who cannot rise superior to their upbringing and surroundings.

“Now contrast this, not with any kind of mansion, but with the suburban villa, where a snug meal waits the home-coming of the city man; and the children, after their welcome kiss, are packed off to bed or play-room; where pictures are on the walls and books on the shelves; where arm-chair and slippers are ready for the tired back and feet, with innumerable little luxuries that are taken as a matter of course; where half a dozen friends can come in for a smoke and chat, or the piano is ready in the drawing-room for a

musical evening; where there is perhaps a bit of garden at the back, or a glass-house in which to spend spare hours in the summer.

"All these things are *recreative*, and are taken without thought of extravagance. If they do not minister to your life, why do you have them? If they do, if without them you would lose your force, become worn out, what of those who are compelled to go without? As a matter of fact, there are in poorer London any number of places where men may meet with their fellows, in good light, genial warmth, and with elbow room; places that are attractive by their superior size, their striking decorations, and the strong glare that is thrown by their windows and outside lamps across the dull and murky street. But there are drawbacks to these places. They are called public-houses, gin-palaces, beer-shops, and a man who frequents them overmuch gets a light pocket, a heavy head, and a damaged character. I do not want to lay stress on the bad side of these places; we are all sufficiently familiar with that. What I do wish to emphasize is the point that with all their faults they fulfil a most necessary function in social life, and that the only genuine reform must take heed of this. . . . The places of intercourse are of prime importance; and the problem is to provide such as will be free from the noxious action of intoxicants, and at the same time will afford the discipline of character that is necessary to all permanent reform."¹

There are, it is true, many places of amusement in East and South London, as well as in the principal pro-

¹ Reason, *University and Social Settlements*, pp. 74-5.

vincial cities, but these are chiefly music-halls, where the entertainment, although far less vicious than is commonly supposed, is too seldom of the kind that is really needed for the recreation of the people. The true criticism of these places is not that they are vicious—in that respect the East-End music-halls certainly compare most favourably with similar halls in the West—but that they are deficient in healthy stimulus, and are too often connected with a public-house, or have drink within their own precincts. But “apart from all question of these places and their control, there is evidently a big field for the provision of good, clean and easily accessible entertainment, both to lighten the lives of those who do not care to frequent the ordinary music-hall, and to win away as many as possible from the opposing delights of the drinking-shops. . . . Pictures, books, good music, clear laughter, heart fellowship—are not these true aids to life? Is it not worth while to bring them within reach of the docker, the coal-heaver, the artisan and the common labourer; nay, right down into the ‘doss-house,’ where the broken ones of society get their precarious lodging night by night? For never will the evil spirits be permanently cast out until the empty house is tenanted by such as these; no reform was ever achieved by mere destruction and prohibition; the hovel must be replaced by a healthy home; the ‘boozing-shop’ by a centre of true fellowship; mischievous books by clean literature; coarse ribaldry by pure fun.”¹

It is not, of course, suggested that adequate arrange-

¹ *Ibid.*

ments of the kind here contemplated would instantly and entirely solve the problem of intemperance. What is suggested is that their influence would go far towards solving the problem by attacking it at one of its primary sources. As Mr. John Burns, M.P., has admirably put it: "Anything that will give working people more pleasure will help in the way of temperance. Let those who want to make the people more temperate provide games and libraries and opportunities for social enjoyment. Give them pleasures, and they will not seek the public-house."

The discovery is not a new one. The need has been emphasized again and again in the course of the last sixty years. So far back as 1834 a Select Committee of the House of Commons, in reporting on the "Causes and Consequences of Intoxication among the Labouring Classes," recommended, among other things, "The establishment, by the joint aid of the Government and the local authorities and residents on the spot, of public walks and gardens, or open spaces for athletic and healthy exercises in the open air, in the immediate vicinity of every town, of an extent and character adapted to its population; and of district and parish libraries, museums and reading-rooms, accessible at the lowest rate of charge, so as to admit of one or the other being visited in any weather and at any time; with the rigid exclusion of all intoxicating drinks of every kind from all such places, whether in the open air or closed."

Twenty years later—in 1854—another Select Committee of the House of Commons reported:—

"Your Committee are fully impressed with the import-

ance of as far as possible dissociating places of public entertainment from the sale of intoxicating drinks. Dramatic and musical performances have a tendency, under strict censorship, to raise the character of the people, and there is evidence of a growing taste for such entertainments amongst the working classes, and which it appears to your Committee may be made to serve as a powerful counter-attraction to the public-house.

“Your Committee have been impressed with the good effects of the Saturday evening concerts, such as take place at the Lord Nelson Street Rooms, Liverpool, which, on all occasions, are presided over by some person of note or respectability ; and they are satisfied that were the example followed, and the means provided *independent of public-houses*, for the working classes to gratify their taste, especially for music, the result would be a diminution of intemperance and the refinement of the popular taste.”

Six years later still, the Royal Commissioners appointed to inquire into the sale of Exciseable Liquors in Scotland, in discussing the causes of “a marked improvement in the habits of the people of Scotland in regard to sobriety,” declared that “The spread of education and the extension of a cheap literature adapted to the wants and requirements of the people, aided by the establishment of lectures, reading-rooms and schemes of rational recreation, have done much to withdraw the operatives from the public-house.”

Nineteen years later—in 1879—a Select Committee of the House of Lords made a still further reference to

the subject. In discussing the question of "Counter-Attractions" the Committee report :—

"The Committee have observed with great satisfaction the efforts which are being made in many parts of the country, and especially in London, Liverpool and the larger towns, to provide, *on a scale far more extensive, and in a form much more attractive than hitherto*, for the physical refreshment and rational recreation of the working classes. . . . These experiments are too recent, and, in spite of their rapid increase, too partial and limited, to enable the Committee to pronounce with confidence on their ultimate success, or on the extent of the influence they may exercise in diminishing intemperance ; but they desire to express their strong opinion that, if generally prosecuted and conducted with due regard for the wants and comforts of a population among whom education is gradually diffusing a taste for enjoyments far less coarse and gross than in the past, they are destined to have an important influence for good. It is obvious that the desire for recreation is felt by all classes alike ; it cannot but be strong among those whose life is one of continual labour ; and it is of the highest social advantage that such recreation should be of an innocent and refining character, free from the temptations with which it has hitherto been accompanied, and which such vast numbers are unable to resist."

This repeated emphasis of a great social deficiency by a succession of Parliamentary Commissions since 1834 is especially impressive in the light of existing needs. That it has not been altogether unfruitful the varied social activities of the present time sufficiently

attest. In the multiplication of mechanics' institutes, polytechnics, art galleries and museums, and public parks and libraries, there is important evidence of the great advance in social activity that has marked the last fifty years. The educational and moral value of the work done by these agencies cannot well be exaggerated; but apart from the fact that the most important of them aim at the *education* rather than the *recreation* of the people—a consideration of especial importance in London and the larger cities—it must be admitted that in their utmost achievement they still leave a serious deficiency in our social life. The real need to be met is indeed beyond their scope.

The existence of this deficiency in our social arrangements is, of course, as natural as, under present conditions, it must be held to be inevitable. It is due to simple historical causes, the chief of which has been the unprecedented growth and development of our modern towns and cities. No one who considers for a moment what this growth and development have been will be at a loss to understand the naturalness, as well as the extent, of the deficiency to which we have referred. The population of London, for example, has increased in fifty years by no less than 117 per cent.; the population of Liverpool, by 81 per cent.; Manchester, by 97 per cent.; Leeds, by 141 per cent.; Birmingham, 153 per cent.; Sheffield, 192 per cent.; Bradford, 198 per cent.; Burnley, 355 per cent.; Croydon, 516 per cent.; Birkenhead, 732 per cent.; while the population of Cardiff and West Ham have increased by no less than 1,027 per cent. and 1,509 per cent. respectively.¹

¹ For further information on this point, see p. 600.

It is almost impossible to realize the full significance of these figures and the revolution which they mark in the social life of the people. One thing, however, they serve to establish, and that is the practical *inevitableness* of the present deficiency in our public arrangements for the recreations and pleasures of the people. It was hardly possible, the growth of urban populations being what it has been, that social arrangements could keep pace with the need, nor—let it be frankly recognised—is there any hope that the need can be overtaken through the ordinary channels in the immediate or near future. Local communities, already heavily burdened with ordinary municipal charges, are not likely to be willing to further burden themselves with the enormous additional expense which an adequate provision for the recreations of the people would involve. Nor can we look with greater hopefulness to the resources of private philanthropy. Those resources, happily, are far from being exhausted at the present time, but they are not inexhaustible, and even at the most sanguine estimate they fall immeasurably short of the full extent of the work that waits to be done. Here and there, doubtless, wealthy corporations, or even private individuals, may do for separate localities what the Goldsmiths' Company has done for New Cross, and the Drapers' Company for Mile End. But the number of these is limited, and there is no reasonable ground for hope that their utmost generosity could meet more than a very small part of the need in the country as a whole. So far from this being the case, experience has shown that the multitudinous work that has been initiated and maintained

by ordinary philanthropic enterprise has been persistently hampered and restricted by the want of adequate funds for its support. Mechanics' Institutes, University and Social Settlements, and the manifold recreative agencies of the Christian Churches, excellent as their work is, are all illustrations of this fact. For all such voluntary agencies, as every one who has been associated with them knows, there are well-defined limits beyond which development is impossible.

It was probably the perception of this fact that led the Bishop of Chester, who, more than most, has realized that the public-house question is an "entertainment of the people question," to include provision for recreation and amusement in his scheme of Public-house Reform. In his letter to *The Times* in August, 1892, the Bishop pointed out that ordinary proposals for Temperance reform "fail on the constructive side. Their aim is to restrict, or even to abolish, the sale of alcoholic beverages. They do not contemplate the counter-provision of such houses of refreshment as may wholesomely meet, and, while meeting, cultivate and refine, the established needs and tastes of the people. And yet in such a climate as this, and with the hours of labour shortening and the hours of leisure lengthening, the demand for such entertainment cannot wisely be ignored or discountenanced. . . . I would, therefore, submit that the reformation so undoubtedly and imperatively demanded must, to be really effective, take the shape of a complete reconstruction of our existing public-house system. Licensed victualling must change hands. Experience has abundantly shown that

private enterprise cannot bear the weight of this vast national responsibility. The State, through its local authorities and instrumentalities, must with a firm and liberal hand undertake the provision of houses of refreshment for the people, in which alcoholic beverages, though frankly recognised, will be deposed from their aggressive supremacy and supplied under less seductive conditions. These conditions would, for example, be comfortable, spacious, well-ventilated accommodation; temperance drinks of every kind brought well to the front, invested with prestige and supplied in the most convenient, attractive, and inexpensive way; the pecuniary interest of the managers (*e.g.* in the form of bonus) made to depend entirely on the sale of eatables and non-alcoholic beverages; alcoholic liquors secured against adulteration; newspapers, indoor games, and, where practicable, outdoor games and music provided; while the mere drink-shop, the gin-palace, and 'the bar'—that pernicious incentive to drinking for drinking's sake—would be utterly abolished."

Let us try to realize what this proposal means. Put briefly—we quote the words of an official manifesto issued by the Public-house Reform Association in 1895—it "goes frankly upon the assumption that the public-house of entertainment is necessary for the comfort, recreation, and social intercourse of the people; and that reform rather than abolition must be the aim of a sound Temperance policy." The suggestion, in short, is to substitute a *reformed public-house* for the present gin-palace. The frequenters of the old houses would, therefore, constitute a large portion of the customers of the new, and would continue in the new

houses to take substantially the same drinks that they had been accustomed to take in the old. The man who had taken spirits would, as a rule, continue to take spirits, and the man who was accustomed to beer would, as a rule, continue to take beer. Whatever place the temperance drinks and other refreshments might occupy, and whatever was the reduction of sale of liquor attendant upon the effort of the salesman to sell as little, instead of as much as possible, the consumption of intoxicants would still remain the dominating and prevailing feature of the new houses, and it is to these places, which must for many years be largely "drink-shops," that people are to be attracted by music, newspapers and games.

With the main principle that underlies the Bishop of Chester's proposals—namely, the elimination of private profit—there can be nothing but cordial agreement, and certainly no one in England has done more to point out its supreme importance and value. But this particular proposal for associating amusement and recreation with the sale of intoxicants is not only opposed to the express recommendations of the Parliamentary Committees already quoted,¹ but is clearly prejudicial to the best interests of the community, and calculated to hinder, rather than to facilitate, the object it seeks to attain. Its importance can be illustrated by a single consideration. Practically all disinterested citizens are agreed that the consumption of intoxicants in the United Kingdom is at present so excessive as to be dangerous to morality, prosperity and health. Temperance workers, realizing

¹ See pp. 384-6.

this, and knowing how hard it is to break an established habit, have tried to save the children from acquiring the habit of drinking. It is stated that in 1897 the Bands of Hope and other juvenile Temperance associations in the United Kingdom had a total membership of nearly three millions (2,800,000), and that in addition to the ordinary work done by these societies, lectures on the subject of Temperance were delivered to no less than 403,320 children in public elementary schools.¹ Do we want these boys and girls when they leave school, with no acquired fondness for drink, and the young men and women in shops and factories, to be attracted by "comfortable, spacious, well-ventilated" rooms, in which games, music and newspapers are directly associated with the sale and consumption of intoxicants? Do we not rather want, by a strong and decided change in our national arrangements, to break the continuity of the drinking habit, and so reduce to reasonable limits our present stupendous consumption of alcohol? If we do wish this, what could be more ill-judged than deliberately to attract young men and women to places where, in seeking recreation, they will perpetually have before them an example which we desire they should *not* imitate?

The Bishop justly points, in support of his major propositions, to the example of Sweden and Norway. But in neither country is there any attempt to attract people to the public-house. In the Bergen bars, as we have lately shown, seats even are not provided, nor are customers permitted to loiter on the premises.

¹ *National Temperance League's Annual*, 1898, pp. 55, 56.

A PRACTICAL SUGGESTION.

IF we start from the position that we want to attract the young *away from* places where intoxicants are sold, rather than attract them *to* such places, the alternative policy to that suggested by the Bishop of Chester is not far to seek.

The first practical step in the direction of reform is, as we have already shown, to confer upon localities the power of granting a monopoly of the entire retail traffic within their borders, either to companies formed for that purpose, upon which the municipal councils shall be directly represented, or, under important safeguards, to the councils themselves. The second step, and that upon which we would now lay special emphasis, is to establish and maintain *out of the profits of the traffic* efficient and attractive social institutes or "People's Palaces," in which full and even elaborate provision could be made for the most varied forms of healthful recreation, but in which no intoxicants would be sold. The attractions which we dread for the public-house should there be freely supplied, and the utmost enlightened effort be concentrated in an endeavour to meet the true recreative needs of the people. Parks and open spaces are invaluable in the warm summer evenings, but the peculiarities of the English climate seriously detract from their usefulness at other times, and make them practically unavailable as places of popular recreation for more than four or five months in the year. What are wanted are "winter parks" in the form of People's Palaces, in which rational recreation could be com-

bined with full opportunity for cheerful intercourse and healthy mental stimulus.

In these People's Palaces the needs and tastes of all sections of the local communities should, as far as possible, be consulted, and while ample provision would be made for recreations of the simplest and least exacting kind, such as would specially appeal to those to whom the stress of their daily lives leaves little inclination for anything more than physical relaxation and cheerful intercourse, careful attention would be paid to the more complex needs of the less physically enervated and the young. The entire scheme of work, in short, would be made subsidiary to the highest interests of the individual and the loftiest aims of the State.

(a) *Recreative Features.*

The purely recreative features would include winter gardens for free promenade and music; indoor concerts and entertainments; rooms for games, reading, etc. The appeal which such agencies would make to large numbers of the workers in our overcrowded towns and cities is no longer matter of conjecture. The experience of Social Settlements, "People's Drawing-Rooms," the Social Institutes' Union, and separate institutions such as the People's Palace in East London, has shown how great is the response to work in this direction. One of the present writers has vivid reminiscences of visits paid at different times to the People's Palace in East London, and of one visit especially on a recent Bank-holiday, when the whole of the spacious buildings seemed alive with eager and glad-hearted east-enders. In one

part of the buildings a large hall temporarily devoted to an exhibition of local handicrafts and industries was filled with interested sightseers, while at the same time—the visit was made about mid-day—the Large Queen's Hall, capable of seating 2,500 persons, was crowded with working men and their wives and families, eagerly listening to a simple concert given by a band of Tyrolese musicians and singers. The entire scene was an impressive reminder of the almost immeasurable possibilities that lie in the direction of enlightened attempts to organize the recreations of the people.

An equally suggestive illustration is that furnished by the People's Palace at Glasgow—a combination of Art Gallery, Concert Hall and Winter Gardens—established and maintained by the Corporation of the city for the benefit of those living in the most crowded parts of Glasgow. The building is situate in the extreme east-end of the city, where the residents are chiefly composed of the working classes. The idea of the building grew out of the experience of the Corporation in other less ambitious attempts to solve the problem of winter recreation for the people. Impressed by the great success of the Winter Gardens at Kibble Palace¹ and its adjuncts, as well as of the conservatories at Camphill,² the Corporation decided to offer similar facilities for recreation to the inhabitants of the more crowded parts of the city, supplementing the Winter Gardens, however, with ample

¹ Kibble Palace is situate in the extreme *west-end* of Glasgow.

² Camphill is situate on the *south* side of the river near Queen's Park.

provision for music, arts and crafts exhibitions, museum, etc. In describing the objects of the institution at the public opening in January, 1898, Bailie Bilsland, the convener of the Corporation committee, said: "The precise lines along which the People's Palace shall be developed and maintained in the future have not as yet been finally laid down. The general idea is that the permanent collection to be formed should relate to the history and industries of the city, and that some space should be set apart for special sectional exhibitions to be held from time to time, in connection with which prizes might be awarded for works of special excellence. While primarily serving as a conservatory and a place of attraction during the shorter days, the Winter Garden portion has been designed and arranged to serve also as a hall where musical performances can be given to large audiences. One element of originality in the way of municipal enterprise that can be claimed for this institution lies in the combination, practically under one roof, of a museum, picture-gallery, winter garden and concert-hall. So far as we are aware, no municipality in the kingdom has provided an institution combining all these features."¹ The experiment is still young, but it has already achieved remarkable success. In a statement furnished to the present writers in December last, by the courtesy of Bailie Bilsland, the curator of the Palace says:—

"From the first the success of the institution has been very remarkable; in fact, so great was the crush

¹ *Glasgow Herald*, January 24th, 1898.

of visitors for many months that great difficulty was experienced in dealing with them. In the evenings especially the interior of the building became so congested that it was frequently found necessary to close the entrance doors for a short interval. It could not, of course, be expected, nor was it desirable, that this should continue very long, but the daily average of visitors to the Palace is still very large, as is evidenced by the fact that since the opening (*i.e.* in ten months) more than 750,000 people have visited it. It is noteworthy that of the first catalogue 43,000 copies were sold.

“The causes of this great popularity are not far to seek. In the first place, the Palace is in close proximity to some of the most crowded parts of the city—inhabited for the most part by people who have little or no leisure during the day, and whose only time for recreation is in the evening or on Saturday afternoon. Engaged for the most part in hard bodily labour, they do not care to go far from their homes to seek that recreation. It is evident also that there had been very severely felt in the East End the need of some place away from the public-house, or street corner, where friend could meet friend and walk and talk in comfort. This meeting-place the People’s Palace supplied. Many people—especially young people—come down every evening to walk in the grounds surrounding the buildings, rendered cheerful even in winter by the electric light, taking a turn now and again into the Art Gallery to look at some favourite picture. As has already been pointed out, everything has been done to make the galleries bright, cheerful and clean, the pictures and art ob-

jects have been of a very high class, and yet sufficiently interesting to the general public; in a word, what has been aimed at is to make the institution, its contents and surroundings, as unlike the usual grimy environment of the people as possible: and all these things have tended to a success which it is the hope of the Committee will continue."

Such statements are exceedingly encouraging, but they hold no surprise for those who, knowing the conditions under which the people live and work, know also how almost priceless the opportunity for joyous "escape" *must* be.

(b) *Arts and Crafts Exhibitions, etc.*

The features that have proved so successful in Glasgow could well be adopted elsewhere, and every People's Palace erected under the conditions here contemplated should provide accommodation for periodical loan exhibitions of art, antiquities, etc., as well as for exhibitions of local handicrafts and industries, mechanical inventions, etc.

The attractiveness of the former has long since been established. The efforts of Canon Barnett in Whitechapel, Mr. Percy Alden in Canning Town and Stratford, and the Rev. J. Scott Lidgett in Bermondsey, have proved conclusively that in the most destitute districts of East and South London the appeal to the sense of beauty wins a quick response.

The following figures show the total number of visitors to the Annual Picture Exhibitions at the foregoing centres in 1897 and 1898:—

	Total number of visitors.	
	1897.	1898.
Whitechapel (19 days)	63,150	51,450
West Ham (29 days)	120,000	(30 days) 116,000
Bermondsey (8 days)	11,675	(10 days) 10,000

In the provinces the interest is fully as great. The Annual Art Exhibition held in Bradford in the spring of last year attracted no less than 147,041 persons in the course of three months. In Manchester, again, the number of admissions to the Permanent Collection of Pictures in the Corporation Art Gallery, Mosley Street, from September 17th, 1896, to September 4th, 1897, was 262,080. The number admitted to the Queen's Park Museum and Art Gallery at Harpurhey (Manchester) for the same period was 118,401. The Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool was visited in 1897 by 391,815 persons, or a daily average (for 278 week-days) of 1,410; while in Belfast—to take only one more instance—no fewer than 615,349 persons visited the Art Gallery and Museum in 1896-7—a daily average of 2,044.

Nor can it be doubted that equal success would meet the attempt periodically to organize, in connection with such People's Palaces, exhibitions of local industries, machinery in motion, etc. The success of the experiments already made in this direction in East London and elsewhere shows how great an opportunity is here presented. From an industrial point of view alone it is difficult to exaggerate its importance, for in quickening the pride of craftsmanship it could hardly fail to provoke those improvements in technical skill which ultimately determine the question of industrial success.

(c) *Educational Agencies, Popular Lectures, etc.*

A further feature of such People's Palaces would be the organization of popular illustrated lectures on science, mechanical inventions, history, biography, travel, etc. The success of such lectures, given under responsible auspices, and by the most accomplished speakers, is assured. Nothing is more remarkable in this connection than the success that has everywhere attended the science lectures, especially, given under the auspices of the Gilchrist Trust and other societies in different parts of the country during the last few years.¹ The eager interest of the large crowds that have attended the lectures has furnished one of the most impressive facts in modern educational effort, and one which it would be folly for social workers to overlook. In the organization of similar lectures in connection with the proposed People's Palaces regard would, of course, be had to the divergent interests of different localities and the syllabus would be made as varied and attractive as possible. The lectures on natural history and physical science could be supplemented by lectures on topics of special local interest. If a town had expended a large sum on a drainage scheme, for example, the ratepayers would listen with interest to a descriptive lecture from the engineer. Again, in arranging the list of lectures, the questions and discoveries of the day would be put well to the front. Such topics as the construction of the Tower Bridge; the sources of the water supply of large cities; arctic exploration; the autumn meteor shower; the nature and application of the X Rays,

¹ See p. 601.

would be attractive themes. These lectures would, of course, be supplementary to the ordinary recreative agencies of the People's Palaces, and being held in one of several halls which such institutions would possess, would in no way interfere with other features of the work. Their educational influence would, however, be considerable.

(d) *Social and Recreative Clubs, Benefit Societies, etc.*

Another feature of such institutions would be the provision of ample accommodation for Social Clubs, Sick Benefit Societies, etc. The need for the former, so far as men and women are concerned, would probably be largely met by the provision of reading and games rooms such as have already been suggested, and, further, by the provision of healthy public entertainments. But experience has shown that the "club" has considerable attractions for a large class of working men, and that being so it would be unwise to leave the want to be supplied in more questionable forms elsewhere. It is in this direction that the University and Social Settlements in different parts of the country have won some of their most important successes, and the work that they have accomplished with limited financial resources is suggestive evidence of the work that *might* be accomplished under such a scheme as is here proposed. The Bishop of Stepney, a former Warden of the Oxford House Settlement, Bethnal Green, whose Men's Clubs have a total membership of 950, and an average nightly attendance of 475, has given in the following incident an interesting illustration of the possibilities that lie open to this form of social effort. "I was visiting," he says, "in

the London Hospital, and found myself sitting by the side of a broken-legged publican. When he heard who I was, he began asking about the welfare of several of our club members. I asked him how he knew them. 'Oh,' he said, 'they were regular customers of mine before they joined your club; I had a public-house close down your way.' 'Are you still there?' I asked him. 'No, sir; I've moved a little farther off.'¹

But in addition to clubs for adults, the need for which would probably diminish with the more adequate provision of popular places of resort, arrangements could also be made for the organization of bright and cheerful clubs for working lads and for working girls, such as are so greatly needed in all our towns and cities, and, to a lesser extent, in our villages also. Here, again, we touch a form of social service that has already proved itself of inestimable value in the better organization of the leisure and lives of the young. The number of lads' and girls' clubs in the country at large is happily very considerable, and yet no one who has had intimate knowledge of even a single district in any important town would dream of suggesting that the provision of such clubs is at all commensurate with the need. Here, as in other directions, there is a serious deficiency, which only the resources and machinery of a great social enterprise can adequately meet. "Hooliganism" is a deplorable but perfectly explicable social phenomenon, and needs something far other than prison cells for its eradication. So long as the community ignores the fact that

¹ *Work in Great Cities.*

for thousands of growing lads the nightly alternatives are the slum-tenement on the one hand, and the gin-palace and the street on the other, so long will "Hooliganism" in one or other of its forms be rampant. The thought is in any case a sobering one, but it becomes doubly impressive when appeal is made to the results in character and fitness for citizenship which have again and again been achieved through the influence of boys' clubs. In the light of these results, "Hooliganism" becomes more than a social offence; it resolves itself into a positive social *waste*—a waste of forces upon which the community ultimately depends for the exaltation and enrichment of its social life. At present the stream of citizenship is too often poisoned at its source.

The same considerations apply to the case of working girls. The need here is assuredly not less—from the view of highest social progress it is probably far greater. But be this as it may, the simple fact that, as things are at present, thousands of working girls in all our large towns are compelled to find their recreation in the streets is a disquieting circumstance that can hardly be dismissed with expressions of regret.

In considering this question it is important to remember that, excluding students, more than *two-thirds* of the girls in this country between the ages of fifteen and twenty are engaged in some form of employment. In 1891 no fewer than 68·6 per cent. of the girls in England and Wales between fifteen and twenty years of age were returned as "occupied."¹ In eight towns

¹ These figures include domestic servants, who form a large proportion of the whole.

the percentage was between 70 and 80; in fourteen towns between 80 and 90; while in six towns in Lancashire (viz., Oldham, Bolton, Preston, Bury, Burnley, and Blackburn) *the percentage ranged from 90 to 95*. Even if the home of the average working girl were less crowded and unhealthy than is too frequently the case, the conditions of employment create a need for greater and more varied recreative stimulus than is possible to her there.

In view of the figures just given, there can, of course, be no suggestion of competition with existing agencies. What is here contemplated is no more than the frank recognition of a grave social deficiency, which it is in the power of the community by wise arrangements to meet.

(e) *Gymnasia.*

A further and greatly needed development in recreative agencies for the young would be the provision, in connection with the People's Palaces, of separate and well-equipped gymnasia for working lads and girls. The admirable work that is now being done in Board Schools by means of musical drill could thus be efficiently followed up in the years when healthy physical development counts for so much. The need to be met in this case is more than one of recreation. It has an economic importance which calls for more urgent attention from those who are concerned with questions of industrial supremacy than it has yet received. So great an authority as the late Sir Edwin Chadwick declared it to be "established that for all ordinary civil labour four partially trained or drilled men are as efficient as five who are undrilled. In

other words, considering the child as an investment, for a trifling expense of about £1 per head the productive power of that investment may, by physical training, be augmented by one-fifth for the whole period of working ability. Professor Laisne, an eminent professor of gymnastics in France, says that I understate the gain of power when I state it at one-fifth; and that, by early and complete physical training, speaking on his experience of a French population, it is practicable to impart to three the working-power of five. Taking it, however, at one-fifth, which I believe is an under-statement, a gain of one-fifth, upon our previous gain of one-third of the producing power of our population, as compared with continental nations of which I have spoken, is a gain upon that of the productive power of a fifth more of population, say of about two Scotlands or of two Lancashires, without the expense of educating them, feeding, clothing, housing, and administering their public affairs. Economically it is equivalent to an addition of one-fifth of the wage fund of the country.”¹

(f) *Temperance Cafés.*

One other feature only of these institutions need here be alluded to, but it is one of considerable importance. To ensure a full measure of success for the People's Palaces, it would be necessary that the refreshment department should be established upon a liberal and satisfactory basis. The belief so widely held by social workers, that it is the *attractions* of the

¹ Presidential Address, Economic Science Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1862.

public-house, rather than the drink itself, that appeal, in the first instance, to so many of its habitués, is probably well grounded; but if so, there is clearly need to out-bid the attractions of the public-house by providing ample facilities for legitimate refreshment under *brighter and more attractive conditions than the publican himself provides*. The policy would be to establish Temperance cafés or saloons, thoroughly attractive in construction and decoration, properly warmed, ventilated and lighted, in which non-intoxicating drinks and other refreshments of good quality would be served at reasonable rates. The extent to which these cafés should be established experience and the special needs of localities could decide; but while no People's Palace would be without its temperance bars and refreshment saloon, it is probable that, in some districts, it would be found desirable to establish the cafés as separate institutions, in which music, newspapers, etc., could be provided, and accommodation at cheap rates offered to sick benefit clubs and other workmen's societies. It would, however, be essential to the success of such cafés that they should out-vie the public-house in cleanliness, brightness and warmth.

Such, in broad outline, is the scheme which, in the judgment of the present writers, is required for the true combating of the evils of intemperance. That it might need modification in matters of detail, as well as adjustment to special local needs, may be readily assumed; but it can hardly be doubted that, in its essential features, it would meet a widespread social need and exert an invaluable social influence. Lord Rosebery, speaking at the opening of the People's

Palace in Glasgow, said: "Among the many benefits which I think such a building may be expected to confer on the community in which it is placed is this—that it will give that community a centre in which to interest itself, a centre around which the affection and the association of the surrounding populace may be grouped; not merely a place where they may spend a happy afternoon or a pleasant day, but a place on which they may centre their home associations." Referring to the absence of these "home associations" in the industrial districts of our large towns, he said: "There is nothing to attach them (*i.e.* the working population) in the district in which they live except the place in which they work. There is no centre of charm or of pleasure; there is nothing round which the memory can, so to speak, group itself, except their home, which, as I have already said, is too often sordid and inadequate. May we at least hope for this among the other benefits of this hall, that there will be a palace of pleasure and imagination around which the surrounding people may place their affections, and which may give them a home on which their memory may rest. . . . But, at any rate, sure I am of this, that a wise legislator, whether he be imperial or municipal, who will endeavour to attach the people to their homes with anything which may, as this palace may well do, become a centre of fascination or attraction . . . is a benefactor not merely to the community in which he lives, but to the species at large." ¹

¹ *Glasgow Herald*, January 24th, 1898.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF THE QUESTION.

But the question will at once be asked, How far is such a scheme practicable? Is there any reasonable ground to suppose that the enormous sums which such a scheme would require will be forthcoming? That the scheme would involve a very great outlay is certain. Nor is it less certain that localities for the most part would refuse even to consider the question if the scheme involved a new charge upon the rates. So far as the national and local exchequers are concerned, the scheme on a general scale is clearly impracticable. But, as we have already hinted, and as we now proceed to show, the profits of the drink traffic—assuming it to be taken out of private hands—would be ample to meet the utmost requirements of the scheme.

The total estimated expenditure upon intoxicants in the United Kingdom in 1898 was £154,480,934.¹ Of this sum :—

£43,353,790 was expended on Spirits.			
94,672,163	„	„	„ Beer.
16,454,981 ²	„	„	„ Wine.
<hr/> £154,480,934			

The question arises, What proportion of this aggregate sum is represented by the trade of public-houses and beer-shops? It may be assumed that comparatively little wine is sold in public-houses, and it may be well for the purposes of an approximate estimate

¹ See p. 7.

² This amount includes a sum of £1,500,000 estimated to have been spent on British wines, cider, etc.

to entirely exclude the national expenditure upon wine from our calculations. This leaves us with a total expenditure—for beer and spirits only—of £138,025,953. How much of this sum was spent in public-houses and beer-shops? It is impossible to answer the question absolutely, inasmuch as there are no statistics in existence to show what relation the sales of public-houses and beer-shops bear to the total national consumption of beer and spirits. Careful inquiries have, however, shown that, in the judgment of competent authorities, the proportion of two-thirds taken by Mr. Chamberlain in 1876¹ may be accepted as a broad but fairly reliable estimate. The total value of the spirits and beer sold in public-houses and beer-shops in the United Kingdom may, therefore, be put at £92,000,000 per annum.²

(a) *Amount of Profit.*

But the further question here arises, What proportion of this aggregate sum is represented by profits on sales? For the purposes of the present discussion, the average net profit on sales may be taken at 20 per cent.³ That this estimate is a low one will be

¹ *The Right Method with the Publicans*, p. 28.

² The figures for 1898 may be stated thus:—

Total National Expenditure on <i>Beer and Spirits</i>	£138,025,953
Proportion represented by Public-house and Beer-shop sales, say two-thirds of total expenditure	£92,017,302

³ This is the proportion taken by Mr. Chamberlain in 1876, *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

apparent from what has been stated elsewhere,¹ and there can be little doubt that under a system of public control such as is here contemplated, in which the enormous sums now paid for "goodwills" would no longer be required, this estimate would be largely exceeded. But accepting the estimate as it stands, the total net profits of the public-houses and beer-shops in the United Kingdom may be reckoned at £18,400,000 per annum. This estimate, it will be remembered, includes beer and spirits only, and takes no account of profits on wine, mineral waters, etc.

Now, assuming that the reduction in the number of licensed houses (*i.e.* to the proportion of not more than one licence to each 600 of the rural population, and not more than one licence to each 1,000 of the town population) would result in a diminution of the traffic by *one-third*, it will be seen that the available profits from the entire public-house and beer-shop traffic will, upon the above basis, amount to £12,266,666, or six shillings per head of the population.² That is to say, a town of 100,000 inhabitants which had adopted the controlling system would have an available annual surplus profit of £30,000. It will be obvious, however, that to devote the whole of this sum to the town in which the sales took place, and to ignore the social needs of rural and other districts where prohibition had been enacted, would be to place such prohibition areas at a serious disadvantage. In any scheme, therefore, for the appropriation of the surplus profits of the traffic in a locality provision

¹ See p. 603.

² The estimated population of the United Kingdom in 1898 was 40,188,927.

should be made by way of proportionate grants for the social and recreative needs of the prohibition districts.

(b) *Appropriation of Profits.*

Probably the right method to adopt would be to hand over the whole of the profits made in a town or locality to a central State authority (e.g. the Local Government Board, or some other State Department), part of such profits being subsequently returned to the locality in the form of annual grants for exclusive use in the maintenance of the People's Palaces, etc.

The question, however, suggests itself: What proportion of the total profits realized by a locality should be so returned? In other words, what share are the localities to receive of their own profits?

It will be clear that the principle of appropriation must be such as shall give the locality no interest in stimulating sales. That is to say, that the sum allotted to a locality shall be a fixed sum *in ratio to the population*, and *not* in ratio to profits earned. It would appear, from careful calculation, that an annual amount of £1,000 per 10,000 of the population—or not more than one-third of the probable profits—would be sufficient to realize the social and recreative agencies already indicated.¹

This proportion, probably, would need to be slightly increased in the case of small towns, since the cost of providing and maintaining adequate People's Palaces would not be strictly proportionate to population; but it may be accepted as a safe *average*.

That is to say, a town of the size of

Cardiff .	{	would receive upon this basis	}	£
		an annual grant of		13,000
Bradford . . .	"	"	"	21,500
Middlesborough	"	"	"	7,500
Preston . . .	"	"	"	11,000
Coventry . . .	"	"	"	5,000
Plymouth . . .	"	"	"	8,000
West Ham . . .	"	"	"	20,000

In the principal cities the grants would, of course, be much larger. Leeds, for example, would receive, on the basis suggested, an annual grant in aid of its People's Palaces, Temperance Cafés, etc., of £36,500; Birmingham would receive £48,000; Manchester, £50,500; Liverpool, £52,000; while the vast needs of London would be met by an annual grant of *half a million sterling*.

These sums, although probably sufficient to meet the recreative needs of the localities concerned, would, nevertheless, as has been pointed out, represent only one-third of the estimated net profits on the sale of beer and spirits in those towns; so that sums equal to twice those amounts would be available for purposes outside the localities. To what objects, we would now ask, should these large surplus funds be devoted? Part of the answer is clear. The first claim upon them should unquestionably be the provision of recreative centres in the prohibition areas. Starting from the position that the primary aim of the scheme is to encourage temperance, it would obviously be unjust, as well as impolitic, to penalise prohibition areas by excluding them from participation in the benefits of the scheme. It is therefore suggested that

annual grants should be made to the prohibition areas on precisely the same basis (*i.e.* ratio of population) and for the same objects as in the case of towns or villages that adopted the controlling system.

But even this would not exhaust the whole of the profits from the traffic. On the contrary, it is certain that if the controlling system were generally established in the towns and cities of the country enough funds would be forthcoming to meet the recreative requirements of the whole of the prohibition areas, and still to leave a large surplus to be devoted to such Imperial purposes as might be decided upon. For example, assuming that one-third of the total population of the kingdom would voluntarily adopt prohibition, with the result that the traffic would still further be reduced by one-third,¹ an assumption that will be accepted as a very sanguine estimate; and that the remaining two-thirds of the population would adopt the controlling system, the total net profits on sales would amount to upwards of eight millions (£8,177,777).

Under the plan suggested, the distribution of this sum would be as follows:—

Grants for People's Palaces, etc., to	
localities in which traffic would	
still be carried on (<i>i.e.</i> under con-	
trolling system)	£
	2,667,000
Grants for similar purposes to prohi-	
bition areas.	1,333,000
Balance available for Imperial purposes .	4,000,000
	<hr/> £8,000,000

¹ This reduction, added to the reduction referred to on p. 410, would represent a total reduction of the public-house traffic of *not less than* 55 per cent.

That the amount of the probable surplus available for Imperial purposes, stated above, is by no means over-estimated (assuming the controlling system to be generally adopted) will be evident from the fact that it is based upon the assumption that *one-third* of the entire population of the kingdom would voluntarily adopt a prohibition policy,¹ and that the public-house and beer-shop traffic would be reduced by 55 *per cent.* Moreover, as we have already pointed out, the figures include only the profits on beer and spirits, and take no account of profits on the sale of wine, mineral waters, etc. Even if we allow for an increase in the prohibition districts beyond the limit here suggested, it is clear that there will still be left a considerable margin of unappropriated profit to meet a further reduction in consumption. The funds available for recreative purposes would, indeed, be so ample that absolutely no inducement would be offered to localities either to extend their sales or to oppose whatever further restrictions might be demanded by public opinion. As a matter of fact, if the public-house traffic were reduced to about *one-fifth of its present dimensions*, there would still be profits enough to meet

¹ Taking the technical and official distinction of "urban" and rural" adopted by the Registrar-General, the population of England and Wales in 1891 was as follows:—

Urban	20,895,504, or 72 per cent.
Rural	8,107,021, or 28 ,,

or a proportion of 258 urban residents to 100 rural. If, however, the line separating urban and rural be drawn at towns of 5,000 inhabitants, the figures are as follow:—

Urban	19,763,264, or 68 per cent.
Rural	9,239,261, or 32 ,,

the grants for People's Palaces, Temperance Cafés, etc., *for the whole of the Kingdom.*¹

It is, of course, self-evident that towns continuing the system of private licence would have no claim upon the funds available for distribution—the grants being strictly confined to towns adopting the controlling system, and prohibition districts.

THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY.

The importance of maintaining the clearest line of division between the sphere and powers of a company, or of a municipality, and the sphere and powers of the State, has elsewhere been emphasized, but it may well be referred to here. Anything approaching to the Russian Crown Monopoly for the retail sale of liquor would be fraught with serious danger. At the same time, the control of the central government over the proceedings of the localities must be such as to effectually remove all danger of abuse. The experience of Norway has shown that the central government may

¹ This will be apparent from the following figures:—

Estimated retail value of spirits and beer sold in public-houses and beershops in the United Kingdom at the present time	£ 92,000,000
Assuming the traffic to be reduced to about one-fifth (say 22 per cent.) of its present dimensions, the total would be	20,240,000
Profits on this amount at 20 per cent. would represent	4,048,000
Required for People's Palaces, Temperance Cafés, etc., on the basis of grants suggested (<i>i.e.</i> £1,000 per 10,000 of the population) for a population of 40,000,000	4,000,000
Leaving a balance of	48,000

exercise a most valuable function in the supervision and ultimate approval of the bye-laws under which the local traffic is carried on, and also in undertaking such superintendence over the transactions of the localities as shall ensure that the intent of the law with respect to them is fulfilled. In addition to giving final sanction to the bye-laws regulating the traffic, the Central Authority would determine the method in which the accounts of the localities should be kept, and would institute a separate audit. The accounts would, moreover, throughout the year, be open to the examination of State inspectors, who would see that the grants in aid of local recreative centres were appropriated strictly in accordance with the laws governing their distribution. In these and other ways the precautions against abuse could be made absolute. Whether the Central Authority should be the Local Government Board or a specially appointed State Department need not here be discussed.

CHARACTER OF THE PUBLIC-HOUSES THAT WOULD REMAIN.

Nothing has been said so far, except indirectly, as to the character of the public-houses that would remain (*i.e.* under the controlling system). The question is, however, of considerable importance. Without attempting to anticipate the whole of the provisions that would be required for the proper conduct of the traffic, the regulations ultimately decided upon would necessarily include the following provisions:

1. Sales on credit would be prohibited.
2. No female bar-tenders would be employed.
3. No adventitious attractions, such as music, etc., would be associated with the sale of intoxicants.
4. Accommodation for clubs, sick benefit societies, etc., would no longer be provided at the public-houses, ample provision for these being made elsewhere (*e.g.* at the People's Palaces).
5. Every public-house would be open to full public inspection from the highway, no screens or partitions being used. It is noteworthy that this reform was advocated by a Select Committee of the House of Commons as far back as 1834.
6. Back-door and side-door entrances (*i.e.* doors opening into passages or courts not being public thoroughfares) would no longer be provided.

These proposals are far from being exhaustive, but they sufficiently indicate the general character of the conditions by which the traffic would be controlled. Other important questions, such as the inspection of public-houses, the provisions respecting hotels, restaurants and clubs, are discussed in detail elsewhere.¹

THE RIGHT OF INITIATIVE.

It is, of course, of the essence of the present proposals that the legislation they suggest should be *permissive* in its character.

Localities would be left free either to accept or to reject the controlling system as they chose. The right of initiative would lie (*a*) with the municipal councils,

¹ See p. 607.

acting by formal resolution; and (b) with the people themselves.

In the majority of cases the initiative would probably be taken by the former, but, in the event of failure on the part of a municipal council to act in the matter, it should be open to the inhabitants of a locality, as in the case of local veto, to demand by a popular vote the adoption of the system. A provision of this kind would effectually prevent any attempt on the part of the liquor trade to "pack" the municipal councils—a device that would certainly be resorted to if the initiative were confined to them.

THE LICENSING AUTHORITY.

It is important, further, to point out that, under the scheme embodied in this chapter, no immediate change is contemplated in the constitution of the licensing authority. In the event of a locality adopting the controlling system, the municipal council might very properly, thereafter, become the licensing authority, but *so long as the traffic remained in private hands* the functions of such an authority could be more safely entrusted to the magistrates. The reasons for this are so obvious that they do not need to be stated at length. It is clearly undesirable to invite such a corruption of municipal politics as would, under existing conditions, result from the active interference of the liquor trade if the municipal councils were constituted the local licensing authorities. Once the system of private licence were abolished this danger would cease.

CONCLUSION.

IN attempting to sum up the broad conclusions to which the present argument has led, it will be well to concentrate attention upon a few important points.

The propositions which we have attempted to establish are chiefly these :

1. That the present consumption of intoxicants in this country is not only excessive, but seriously subversive of the economic and moral progress of the nation.
2. That in the present state of public opinion prohibition *in the large towns* is to be regarded as impracticable, although it is possible that local veto might be successfully exercised in a suburb, or ward, of a town where there was a sufficient "safety-valve" in the shape of neighbouring facilities for the purchase of drink.
3. That in no English-speaking country has the problem of the intemperance of large towns been solved.
4. That an examination of the causes of alcoholic intemperance shows us that, while some of these are beyond our reach, others that are of the utmost importance are distinctly within the sphere of legislative influence.
5. That we may single out as effective causes of intemperance :—
 - (a) The monotony and dullness—too often the active misery—of many lives.
 - (b) The absence of adequate provision for

social intercourse and healthful recreation.

- (c) Above all, the arrangements under which the sale of alcoholic drinks is placed in the hands of those who seek to stimulate their consumption to the utmost.

In the present chapter a careful attempt has been made to meet the demand which these propositions suggest. It is too much to hope that the scheme that has been outlined will satisfy the idealist, but it offers at least a common meeting-ground where moderate and advanced exponents of temperance alike may join hands with all other earnest citizens in the effort to advance what has come to be acknowledged as a "momentous human interest."¹ The proposals frankly recognise: First, that reforms to be effective must be *constructive* as well as *restrictive*. Secondly, that they should reach as far as the progressive spirit of the community has penetrated and been accepted, and be consistent with further advance. Thirdly, that they should educate and set free the latent progressive resources of each locality.

The present writers are well aware that objection has been taken to schemes for the municipalization of the drink traffic on the ground of their possible corrupting influence. This danger is, however, not merely remote from, but absolutely destroyed by, the present proposals.

What is actually provided for is a system of local restriction and control—exercised preferably, although

¹ See *Popular Control of the Liquor Traffic*, p. 98.

not necessarily, through the municipal councils¹—from which all that is commonly objected to in proposals for municipalization has been effectually and of set purpose excluded. That this is so can easily be shown. It is provided:—

1. That localities shall organize and control the traffic (either directly or through a company, as in Norway), under the direct supervision of the central government, and only within clearly defined statutory limits.
2. That the *whole* of the profits² shall, in the first instance, be handed over to a central State Authority.
3. That the *sole* benefit which a locality shall receive from the profits of the traffic shall be an annual grant from the State Authority for the establishment and maintenance of recreative centres, the primary object of which shall be to counteract the influence of the drink traffic. Such grant to be a fixed sum *in ratio to population*, and *not* in ratio to profits earned.
4. That similar grants shall be made to prohibition areas, all inducement to continue the traffic

¹ The present proposals entirely admit of the experiment being made, in the first instance, by authorized companies, instead of by the municipal councils, in localities where it should be so desired. In the case of the rural districts the experiment could be entrusted to either the parish councils or authorized companies.

² In any scheme for the disbursement of profits regard would of course be had to necessary appropriations for sinking funds, etc.

for the sake of the grants being thus effectually destroyed.

5. That where the municipal councils adopt the system and elect to control the traffic, they shall, as in the case of the present technical education committees, invite the active co-operation of a fixed number of influential citizens, other than members of the council, in the work of local management.¹
6. Finally, the right of prohibiting the traffic is placed within the power of every locality.

It is evident, therefore, that the conditions would be such as to destroy the risk of municipal corruption. That the scheme, by enlarging and enriching the idea of municipal responsibility, would have an entirely opposite effect could, with equal explicitness, be shown. As Lord Rosebery has admirably put it: "The larger the sense of municipal responsibility which prevails, the more it reacts on the corporation or the municipality itself. By that I mean this, that the men outside the municipality, or who have hitherto held aloof from municipal government, when they see the higher aims of which the municipality is capable, when they see the wider work that lies before it, when they see the incomparable practical purposes to which the municipality may lend its

¹ That the scheme, in its provision of recreative agencies, would require for its full success the active co-operation in each locality of earnest citizens is certain. But the experience of School Boards especially has shown that there is no lack of high-minded and gifted men and women willing to devote time and labour to well-devised schemes of social service.

great power, are not inclined any longer to hold aloof." ¹

But apart from the qualities or defects of a particular scheme, it is well to remember that the alternatives open to Temperance reformers are very few. There is a growing feeling that the enormous monopoly profits which at present attach to the Trade, and which must grow, rather than diminish, with an increasing population and a diminishing number of licences, ought not to be reaped by private individuals, but be used for the benefit of the community. The question to be decided is, How best may this be effected? One method of effecting it is by offering the licences at public auction to those who will agree to pay the highest licence fees, or—if this method be objected to—by largely increasing the statutory fees. In other words, by adopting, in one or other of its forms, a system of High Licence. But, apart from the fact that this suggestion touches part of the problem only, its defects, as we have seen, are obvious. It not only fails to destroy the political influence of the Trade, but it gives the licensee an even greater incentive to push his sales. The increased cost of the licence must be met by increased sales.

The alternative scheme is to take the traffic entirely out of private hands. There are two ways in which this can be done. We can either create, as in Russia, a system of State monopoly; or, on the other hand, what is proposed in this chapter—a system of local restriction and control. The former system is

¹ *Glasgow Herald*, January 24th, 1898.

clearly inadmissible. Its defects are too obvious to call for further comment. We are therefore shut down to some such scheme as is here proposed—a scheme of local management carried out under strict statutory safeguards. This being so, the only remaining question to be decided is the appropriation of the profits. Here again the alternatives are simple and clearly defined. The profits might be devoted to (a) the relief of local rates ; (b) the subvention of local charities, as, until recently, in Norway ; (c) State or Imperial purposes ; or (d) the provision—as is here suggested—of efficient counter-attractions. The first of these alternatives is so inherently vicious, and would encounter such overwhelming opposition, that it need not be further considered. The second and third proposals, although far less objectionable, are still open to serious criticism. Their inherent defect is that they would deflect and absorb, for quite other purposes, resources that are needed for directly combating the evils of the traffic. The fourth alternative is free from these defects. It starts from the position, which few will question, that the public-house problem is largely—by no means entirely—an “entertainment of the people” problem ; that it has its roots in ordinary social instincts as well as in depraved and unenlightened tastes ; and that it can only be effectively solved when provision is made for adequate counter-attractions. It is claimed for the present proposals that they make such provision possible in a form that would powerfully contribute to the highest interests of the individual and the truest progress of the State.

The final appeal may justly be made to the eloquent

words in which, twenty years ago, the Lords' Committee on Intemperance summed up the argument for local management and control. Referring to the objections urged against both the Gothenburg system and the system of direct municipal control, the Committee say: "We do not wish to undervalue the force of these objections; but if the risks be considerable, so are the expected advantages. And when great communities, deeply sensible of the miseries caused by intemperance, witnesses of the crime and pauperism which directly spring from it, conscious of the contamination to which their younger citizens are exposed, watching with grave anxiety the growth of female intemperance on a scale so vast and at a rate of progression so rapid as to constitute a new reproach and danger, believing that not only the morality of their citizens, but their commercial prosperity, is dependent upon the diminution of these evils, seeing also that all that general legislation has been hitherto able to effect, has been some improvement in public order, while it has been powerless to produce any perceptible decrease of intemperance, it would seem somewhat hard, when such communities are willing, at their own cost and hazard, to grapple with the difficulty and undertake their own purification that the Legislature should refuse to create for them the necessary machinery, or to intrust them with the requisite powers."¹

The reasonableness of that appeal will probably be generally accepted, and its force may justly be claimed

¹ *Report of the Lords' Committee on Intemperance, 1879, p. 25.*

in behalf of the present proposals. That these proposals would solve, absolutely and definitively, the entire problem of intemperance, is neither claimed nor believed. This no single scheme can effect. But that they offer a reasonable basis for co-operation to all who are concerned to achieve such a result, and would powerfully contribute to bring it about, is fully and earnestly believed. If the proposals fall short of the full aim of the idealist, they in no way conflict with his ideal. They simply lay the foundations upon which he and others may build.

APPENDICES

CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES.*

I. EUROPE AND AMERICA.

Comparative Statement, showing the *per capita* consumption of Alcoholic Beverages in (a) the United Kingdom and (b) the various countries of Europe and the United States, as far as the particulars can be stated. The English measure is taken throughout.

1. WINE.

Consumption per Head of the Population.

Countries.	1885-89.	1890-94.	1895.	1896.	1897.
	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.
United Kingdom . . .	0.37	0.38	0.37	0.40	0.39
Germany:					
Prussia	}	No	Returns		
Alsace-Lorraine . . .					
Bavaria					
Saxony	}	No	Returns		
Württemberg					
Baden					
Hesse					
Total, German Empire	1.14 ¹	1.28	1.06	2.29	1.34
Norway	0.19 ²	0.25 ³	0.31	0.52	0.58
Sweden	—	0.05 ⁴	0.10	0.13	0.15
Holland	0.46	0.44	0.42	0.42	—
Belgium	0.72	0.82	0.90	1.03	0.86
France	20.2	23.9	24.4	29.5	21.8
Switzerland	}	No	Returns		
Portugal					
Spain					
Italy	16.2 ⁵	17.9	19.6	—	—
	21.2	21.5	14.7	18.5	—
Austria (Proper). . . .	3.87	3.83	—	—	—
Hungary	5.01	1.89	2.64	2.20	2.20
Total, Austro-Hungarian Empire	4.22	3.4	—	—	—
United States.	0.43	0.36	0.26	0.22	0.44

¹ 1889. ² 1886-90. ³ 1891-4. ⁴ 1893-4. ⁵ 1887-9.

* Compiled by permission from the most recent Board of Trade Returns.

2. BEER.

Consumption per Head of the Population.

Countries.	1885-89.	1890-94.	1895.	1896.	1897.
	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.
United Kingdom	27.5	29.8	29.6	30.9	31.3
Norway.	3.3	4.5	3.9	3.6	3.9
Sweden	5.3	6.8	7.8	9.3	—
Denmark	—	18.4 ¹	19.1	18.8	20.8
Germany:					
Prussia		No	Retur ns		
Alsace-Lorraine	11.2	14.5	15.2	17.4	16.5
Bavaria	47.9	49.3	51.7	51.9	54.8
Saxony		No	Retur ns		
Württemberg	34.8	38.2	37.6	41.4	40.3
Baden.	19.8	22.4	24.4	27.7	34.1
Total, German Empire	20.6	23.5	23.5	25.5	25.5
Holland		No	Retur ns		
Belgium	36.9	39.7	42.2	43.6	44.4
France	4.7	4.9	5.1	5.1	—
Switzerland	8.2	10.9	12.8	13.9	—
Italy.	0.18	0.15	0.11	0.11	0.11
Austria (Proper)	11.8	—	—	—	—
Hungary	0.9	0.15	2.0	2.2	2.2
Total, Austro-Hun- garian Empire	7.1 ²	—	—	—	—
Roumania	—	—	—	—	—
United States.	9.7	12.6	12.4	12.7	12.2

¹ 1892-4.² 1885.

3. SPIRITS (50 PER CENT. ALCOHOL).

Consumption per Head of the Population.

Countries.	1885-89.	1890-94.	1895.	1896.	1897.
	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.
United Kingdom (British .	0.71	0.79	0.75	0.79	0.81
(Foreign .	0.22	0.22	0.20	0.21	0.21
Total	0.93	1.01	0.95	1.00	1.02
Russian Empire	1.43	1.09	1.03	1.03	—
Norway	0.69	0.76	0.77	0.51	0.48
Sweden	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.6
Denmark	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.3	3.3
Germany :—					
Prussia	}	No	Returns		
Alsace-Lorraine . . .					
Bavaria					
Saxony					
Württemberg					
Baden	—	1.70	1.76	1.85	1.80
Hesse		No	Returns		
Total, German Empire	1.78 ¹	1.97	1.89	1.94	1.89
Holland	1.98	1.96	1.91	1.91	—
Belgium	1.96	2.14	2.20	1.89	2.00
France	1.68	1.90	1.78	1.85	1.89
Switzerland	—	1.38	1.25	1.32	—
Portugal	—	0.11	0.09	0.09	—
Spain	0.90 ²	0.76	0.86	—	—
Italy	0.33	0.29	0.22	0.24	0.26
Austria (Proper)		No	Returns		
Hungary	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.2	2.4
Total, Austro-Hungarian Empire .		No	Returns		
United States	1.05	1.19	0.93	0.83	0.84

¹ 1888-9.² 1887-9.

II. BRITISH COLONIES.

Comparative Statement showing the *per capita* consumption of Alcoholic Beverages in (a) the United Kingdom, and (b) the British Colonies.

1. WINE.

Consumption per Head of the Population.

Countries.	1888-92.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.
	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.
United Kingdom. .	0.38	0.37	0.36	0.37	0.40	0.39
New South Wales. . .	0.81	0.84	0.80	0.64	0.61	0.72
Victoria. . . .	1.4	1.0	1.4	1.6	2.1	—
South Australia (except Northern Territory)	No Information					
South Australia (Northern Territory) .	0.29 ¹	0.38	0.24	0.37	0.44	0.41
Western Australia. . . .	—	1.6	1.4	1.5	1.4	—
Queensland. . .	0.63	0.32	0.50	0.62	0.44	0.52
Tasmania. . . .	0.17	0.09	0.08	0.09	0.09	0.09
New Zealand. . .	0.18	0.17	0.14	0.13	0.14	0.15
Natal.	0.7	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.07	—
Cape of Good Hope. . . .	3.3 ¹	3.2	2.2	2.6	1.9	2.0
Dominion of Canada. . .	0.11	0.10	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.08
Newfoundland	0.03 ²	—	—	—	—	—

¹ 1891-2.² 1888 and 1891.

2. BEER.

Consumption per Head of the Population.

Countries.	1888-92.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.
	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.
United Kingdom. .	29·2	29·6	29·4	29·6	30·9	31·3
New South Wales . . .	11·1	9·2	9·0	9·0	9·1	9·5
Victoria . . .	17·7	12·4	12·3	12·5	12·4	12·7
South Australia (except Northern Territory)	No	Information		8·9	9·1	8·6
South Australia (Northern Territory) .	2·3 ¹	2·3	2·9	2·3	2·6	3·2
Western Australia . . .	No	Information			20·9	—
Queensland . .	10·0 ¹	8·8	9·2	11·1	12·4	11·5
Tasmania . .	9·6	7·3	7·0	7·1	7·2	7·2
New Zealand .	7·6	7·7	7·4	7·4	7·9	8·2
Natal	0·92 ²	0·57	0·28	0·31	0·40	—
Cape of Good Hope . . .	1·3 ¹	1·4	1·5	1·5	1·6	1·7
Dominion of Canada . .	3·6	3·5	3·5	3·4	3·6	3·5
Newfoundland	0·11 ³	—	—	—	—	—

¹ 1891-2.² 1889-92.³ 1888 and 1891.

3. SPIRITS.

Consumption per Head of the Population.

Countries.	1888-92.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.
	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.
United Kingdom. .	0.98	1.01	1.00	0.95	1.00	1.02
New South Wales . . .	1.08	0.83	0.77	0.73	0.73	0.70
Victoria . . .	1.4	0.46	0.74	0.66	0.91	0.84
South Australia (except Northern Territory)	0.51	0.41	0.38	0.35	0.37	0.35
South Australia (Northern Territory) .	1.9 ¹	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.7
Western Australia . . .	1.8	1.8	1.7	2.3	2.5	2.1
Queensland . .	1.40	0.95	0.98	0.95	0.87	0.90
Tasmania . .	0.63	0.42	0.37	0.38	0.38	0.38
New Zealand .	0.71	0.70	0.65	0.63	0.64	0.66
Natal	0.33 ²	0.31	0.29	0.28	0.31	—
Cape of Good Hope . . .	1.2 ¹	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.2
Dominion of Canada . .	0.78	0.75	0.75	0.68	0.65	0.75
Newfoundland	0.36 ³	—	—	—	—	—

¹ 1891-2.² 1889-92.³ 1888 and 1891.

CONSUMPTION OF ABSOLUTE ALCOHOL.

Tables showing the average *per capita* consumption of *Absolute Alcohol* in (a) Europe and America; and (b) the British Colonies.

I. UNITED KINGDOM, EUROPE, AND AMERICA.

Countries.	Wine.		Beer.		Spirits (50 per cent. alcohol).		Absolute Alcohol. ¹
	Years.	Gals.	Years.	Gals.	Years.	Gals.	Gals.
United Kingdom .	1893-7	0.38	1893-7	30.20	1893-7	1.00	2.05
France. . .	"	26.10	1892-6	5.10	"	1.84	3.72
Belgium . .	"	0.88	1893-7	42.10	"	2.09	2.81
Switzerland.	1894-5	15.10	1892-6	12.10	1892-6	1.33	2.64
Denmark. . .	No returns		1893-7	19.20	1893-7	3.50	2.51
Spain . . .	1893-5	20.30	No returns		1893-5	0.78	2.42
Italy . . .	1892-6	19.00	1893-7	0.11	1893-7	0.25	2.40
Germany. . .	1893-7	1.60	"	24.40	"	1.93	2.09
Hungary. . .	"	2.29	"	2.10	"	2.40	1.50
United States	"	0.32	"	12.70	"	0.99	1.16
Sweden . . .	"	0.10	1892-6	7.60	"	1.54	1.08
Russia. . .	"	0.60 ²	"	0.70 ²	1892	1.02	0.60
Norway . . .	"	0.37	1893-7	4.10	1893-7	0.67	0.54
Holland . . .	1892-6	0.43	No returns		1892-6	1.94	—
Austria . . .	1892-4	4.25	1885-8	11.80	No returns		

¹ The alcoholic strength of *Beer* has been taken at 5 per cent. for the United Kingdom and the United States, and 4 per cent. elsewhere. Wine has been taken at 15 per cent. in the United Kingdom and the United States, 12 per cent. in Italy, and 10 per cent. elsewhere, except that in Norway it is taken at 10 per cent. up to 1896, and 15 per cent. since.

² The *Bulletin Russe de Statistique Financière* for February, 1896, gives the *average* wine production of Russia as 3,500,000 hectols. (77,000,000 gallons); the imports are approximately 2,000,000 gallons per annum. This would give a *per capita* consumption of approximately .6 of a gallon of wine throughout the country. The production of beer, according to the same

II. UNITED KINGDOM AND THE COLONIES.

Countries.	Wine.		Beer.		Spirits (50 per cent. alcohol).		Absolute Alcohol. ¹
	Years.	Gals.	Years.	Gals.	Years.	Gals.	Gals.
United Kingdom .	1893-7	0.38	1893-7	30.20	1893-7	1.00	2.05
Western Australia . .	1893-6	1.50	1896	20.90	"	2.10	2.27
South Australia (Northern Territory).	1893-7	0.37	1893-7	2.70	"	2.40	1.37
Victoria . .	1892-6	1.50	"	12.40	"	0.72	1.16
Queensland .	1893-7	0.48	"	10.60	"	0.93	1.04
Cape of Good Hope . .	"	2.40	"	1.50	"	1.20	0.95
New South Wales . .	"	0.72	"	9.10	"	0.75	0.90
New Zealand .	"	0.15	"	7.70	"	0.66	0.73
South Australia (except Northern Territory).	No returns		1895-7	8.90	"	0.37	0.62
Tasmania .	1893-7	0.09	1893-7	7.10	"	0.39	0.55
Canada . .	"	0.09	"	3.50	"	0.72	0.54

official authority, is estimated at 80,000,000 gallons, while the imports average 225,000 gallons. The consumption of beer is, therefore, almost identical with the consumption of wine in the Empire.

¹ The alcoholic strength of *Beer* has been taken at 5 per cent. for both the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and that of *Wine* at 15 per cent. for the United Kingdom, and 12 per cent. for the Colonies.

THE NATIONAL DRINK BILL. 1837-1898.¹

Year.	Drink Bill. £	Average Cost per head. £ s. d.	Year.	Drink Bill. £	Average Cost per head. £ s. d.	Year.	Drink Bill. £	Average Cost per head. £ s. d.
1837	87,713,289	£ 3 8 4	1858	90,834,140	£ 3 4 5½	1879	128,143,865	£ 3 15 0
1838	90,246,847	£ 3 9 7	1859	95,679,611	£ 3 7 5	1880	122,279,275	£ 3 10 11
1839	87,804,658	£ 3 7 0	1860	87,027,029	£ 3 0 10½	1881	127,074,460	£ 3 12 3
1840	87,007,756	£ 3 5 8½	1861	94,942,107	£ 3 5 7	1882	126,251,359	£ 3 12 0
1841	76,340,434	£ 2 17 1	1862	88,867,563	£ 3 0 10	1883	125,477,275	£ 3 10 5
1842	72,413,473	£ 2 12 10½	1863	92,088,185	£ 3 2 7	1884	126,349,256	£ 3 10 9
1843	73,492,867	£ 2 13 11	1864	103,720,012	£ 3 9 10	1885	123,268,806	£ 3 7 10
1844	78,157,971	£ 2 16 9½	1865	106,439,561	£ 3 11 3	1886	122,389,045	£ 3 6 10
1845	80,067,478	£ 2 17 7½	1866	113,925,558	£ 3 15 9	1887	124,347,369	£ 3 7 3
1846	89,384,488	£ 3 3 7½	1867	110,122,266	£ 3 12 7	1888	124,611,439	£ 3 6 8
1847	76,843,734	£ 2 14 11	1868	113,464,874	£ 3 14 1	1889	132,213,276	£ 3 9 11
1848	81,178,230	£ 2 18 4	1869	112,885,603	£ 3 13 0	1890	139,495,470	£ 3 14 4
1849	84,781,633	£ 3 1 3½	1870	118,736,279	£ 3 16 1	1891	141,220,675	£ 3 15 0
1850	87,725,140	£ 3 3 9	1871	125,586,902	£ 3 19 1	1892	140,866,262	£ 3 13 11
1851	87,051,223	£ 3 3 6½	1872	131,601,490	£ 4 2 8	1893	138,854,829	£ 3 12 3
1852	89,399,460	£ 3 5 1½	1873	140,014,712	£ 4 7 8	1894	138,737,828	£ 3 11 6½
1853	91,233,313	£ 3 6 3	1874	141,342,997	£ 4 7 2	1895	142,414,812	£ 3 12 9½
1854	84,987,738	£ 3 1 5½	1875	142,876,669	£ 4 7 3	1896	148,972,230	£ 3 15 6
1855	75,379,267	£ 2 10 7	1876	147,288,759	£ 4 9 0	1897	152,281,723	£ 3 16 5½
1856	87,534,038	£ 3 2 6	1877	142,007,231	£ 4 4 10	1898	154,480,934	£ 3 16 10½
1857	90,617,726	£ 3 4 8½	1878	142,188,900	£ 4 4 0			

¹ Extracted from the *National Temperance League's Annual*, 1898.

EXPENDITURE UPON DRINK.

Summary of weekly expenditure upon drink classified according to trades.

AVERAGE OF DIFFERENT TRADES.

Trade.	Number of men Reported on.	Average Weekly Expenditure.	
		s.	d.
Charcoal Makers	30	1	0½
Stores (General)	144	1	0½
Cocoa Factories	92	1	6
Cloth Mills.	45	1	6
Chair Factory.	92	1	9
Confectioners	168	1	10½
Cotton Mills	200	2	0
Book-binders	58	2	2
Worsted Mills.	12	2	3
Box-makers.	183	2	3½
Boot and Shoe Trades	850	2	3½
Machine Makers	87	2	4
Cutlery and File Makers . . .	257	2	8½
Agricultural Labourers . . .	71	2	9¼
Railway Labourers.	48	2	9¾
Dyers	400	2	11¾
Meatmarket (Smithfield) . . .	9	3	0
Leather Workers and Tanners.	309	3	1½
Coach-builders	53	3	3¼
Brass and Iron Workers . . .	271	3	5¼
Cabinet Makers	161	3	5½
Glass-works	32	3	6¼
Chemical Works.	90	3	7½
Brick and Tile Works	60	3	8¾
Lace Factories.	381	3	8¾
Hosiery and Gloves.	794	3	9
Straw Hat Factory.	6	3	10
Optical Instrument Makers .	55	3	11
Collieries	617	4	1½
Builders and Contractors. . .	254	4	2¼
Wire and Galvanising Works .	350	4	2¼
Engineering Trades.	1,696	4	4¼
Oil Mills.	26	4	5¼
Lime and Cement Works. . .	12	4	6½
Silversmiths	35	5	0
Saw Mills	47	5	0¼
Safe and Lock Makers. . . .	320	5	0½
Printers and Compositors . .	50	5	1
Foundries and Forges	1,038	5	1½
Provision Warehouses. . . .	164	5	10¼
Painters	20	6	1½
Dock Workers (Albert Docks) .	8	8	4½
Felt Hat Factory.	18	8	9

EXPENDITURE OF WORKING MEN ON DRINK.

SUPPLEMENTARY EVIDENCE.

In his recently published volume on *Prisons and Prisoners*, the Rev. J. W. Horsley gives particulars of a number of cases of heavy drink expenditures coming under his own notice as a prison chaplain. We select a few of the *least* striking cases:—

- “Gasfitter, 19, earns 7*d.* an hour, scores 8*s.* a week.”
- “Man, who scores 15*s.* a week, in prison for beating his wife, and his wife in for breaking the windows of a publican who would serve him in spite of her remonstrance.”
- “Gas-stoker, 32, earns £1 17*s.* 6*d.*, spends 2*s.* 4*d.* in lodging, 8*s.* in food, 4*d.* in washing, the rest mainly in drink, and is always run out of money by Tuesday.”
- “Felt-maker, earns 17*s.*, wife earns 8*s.* as carpet bag maker; they have regularly five pints a day, and ten on Saturdays and Sundays.”
- “A leather-worker, aged 60, in for begging, has averaged six or seven pints a day for forty years, never drunk; is astonished when I show him he has spent over £730 in beer.”
- “Stevedore, aged 21, earns 34*s.*, and is always in work, yet has no second coat to his back, gives 12*s.* to his parents for his keep, and spends the rest in beer.”

The following statements, made by Mr. J. R. Roberts, Clerk to the Justices for the City and County of Newcastle-on-Tyne, in the course of his evidence before the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws (July 28th, 1896), are also suggestive in this connection:—

Question (Chairman, Viscount Peel). “You were going to give an instance of the evil of the prolongation of hours

during which the long bars are open?" *Answer.* "Yes; if you take the Elswick Works, they are now employing over 15,000 hands. There is one house I know that is situated nearly opposite the entrance to those works, or one of the departments. The works open at six o'clock in the morning, and a bell is rung for a few minutes, during which the men enter the works. This house is open exactly at six. You will find as many as 50 to 100 men all standing at the door; directly the door is opened they all rush in, and their glasses of spirits are all arranged on the counter. They toss off a glass of spirits, and go straight in to their work. At six o'clock in the morning, at the same moment that these men are going in, the night-shift men come out, and they fill these and other houses in the neighbourhood."

Question. "What is mostly consumed at that hour—beer or spirits?" *Answer.* "Spirits."

Question. "With reference to those men who are going in—not the night-shift men, but the men coming in—what would be their habits at home—would they have breakfast before they left home, or something to eat?" *Answer.* "I cannot tell. I should think they have to come some distance, some of them, and, possibly, if their domestic arrangements were not very good, they might come without their breakfast. I know a good deal of time is lost at the different works."

Question. "It is very difficult for you to estimate it, but have the police observed a great number of cases of drunkenness in the immediate neighbourhood of this bar, which you speak of as immediately outside the great works?"

Answer. "I have heard from the police that they have known men who have gone with the intention of going to work never having done so, owing to their going into this place."

EXPENDITURE ON DRINK IN WORKMEN'S CLUBS.

The following particulars are also of value as an illustration of the large consumption of liquor in workmen's clubs. The particulars relate to a club in a northern town with a population of 70,000, and the figures are for the *six months* ended December 31st, 1897 :—

Population of district in which club is situate	}	4,000
Total Number of Members		360
Average Attendance of Members on Sundays	}	200
Amount received for <i>drink only</i> during the six months ended December 31st, 1897	}	£1,250 1s. 11d.
<i>Total</i> Receipts of Club during same period	}	£1,416 17s. 4d.

“INTEMPERATE” CONSUMPTION OF BEER AND SPIRITS IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

MR. DUDLEY BAXTER'S ESTIMATE.

According to Mr. Dudley Baxter's estimate, the *temperate* consumption of beer and spirits in England and Wales in 1869 was as follows:—Upper and middle classes: thirty-five gallons of beer per head; half a gallon of diluted spirits. Manual labour class: twenty gallons of beer per head; half a gallon of diluted spirits.

Now, assuming every member of the population to have been a temperate consumer of alcohol in that year, the total

amount of *temperate consumption* in England and Wales would have been as follows:—

	Total No. of Persons (1869).	Total Temperate Consumption of:—	
		Beer (Gallons).	Spirits (Gallons).
Upper and middle classes	5,098,000 ¹	178,430,000	2,549,000
Working classes . . .	17,067,000 ¹	341,340,000	8,533,500
	22,165,000 ²	519,770,000	11,082,500

But the *actual* consumption of beer and spirits in England and Wales in 1869 was as follows:—

	Gallons.
Beer.	770,000,000 ³
	Gallons.
British Spirits	11,400,000
Foreign and Colonial Spirits.	6,538,000 ⁴
	17,938,000

So that, according to Mr. Dudley Baxter, no less than 250,230,000 gallons of *beer*, or 32 per cent. of the total consumption, and 6,855,500 gallons of *spirits*, or 38 per cent. of the total consumption, must have represented *intemperate consumption* in 1869.

Again, the figures of *temperate* consumption represent a

¹ These proportions are worked out on the estimate adopted by Mr. Baxter in another of his works (see *National Income*, p. 16), where he assumes that the labouring classes in 1867 formed 77 per cent. of the total population.

² The total population of England and Wales in 1869 was 22,164,847.

³ The total quantity of malt retained for consumption as beer in England and Wales in 1869 was 42,783,130 bushels. According to the Excise estimate of two bushels of malt to a barrel of beer, this would give a total consumption of 770,096,340 gallons.

⁴ Assuming that 80 per cent. of the imported spirits were consumed in England and Wales. Only a small proportion of imported spirits is consumed in Scotland and Ireland.

total expenditure¹ of £50,065,250, whereas the *actual* expenditure upon drink in England and Wales in that year was upwards of £75,688,000, so that the amount expended upon *intemperate consumption* in 1869 must have been upwards of £25,600,000. Assuming that two-thirds of this amount was spent by the working classes, and one-third by the upper and middle classes, the expenditure of the working classes in England and Wales on beer and spirits in 1869 would be as follows:—

Total <i>Temperate Expenditure</i> of working classes on beer and spirits in 1869 on Mr. Dudley Baxter's estimate of temperate consumption	£34,134,000
Total <i>Intemperate Expenditure</i> of working classes on beer and spirits in 1869 (<i>i.e.</i> , two-thirds of cost of intemperate consumption, as shown above).	17,066,666
Total expenditure	£51,200,666

Dividing this sum among 3,413,386 families (representing 17,066,932 persons), we get an average annual expenditure for each working-class family of £15 per year, or 5s. 9½d. per week.

¹ Reckoning the retail cost of beer at 1s. 6d. per gallon, and spirits at 20s. per gallon.

INCREASED CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOL IN
FRANCE.

WITH regard to the great increase in late years of the consumption of alcohol in France, the following statement is abbreviated from the remarks made by the Commission appointed by the French Chamber to inquire into the question and report thereon.¹ In the year 1830 the consumption in France was 1 litre 12 centilitres of *pure alcohol* per head of population; in 1873 the quantity had risen to 2 litres 59 centilitres per head, and in 1885 still further to 3 litres 85 centilitres. In 1891 the consumption of *pure alcohol* reached 4 litres 56 centilitres per head. In 1895 it had fallen to 4 litres 07 centilitres. The Commissioners, however, appear to doubt whether this decrease is genuine, and they attribute the apparent falling off in a great measure to spirit put on the market by fraudulent means, of which, from the nature of the case, no account exists. The average strength of the spirit sold retail in France is, the Commissioners state, 37.5 degrees, and it follows that the consumption, without distinction of age or sex, was in the year 1891, 12 litres 16 centilitres per head, or, if allowance be made for women and children and persons who but rarely drink, and if it be conceded, as some witnesses contend, that an eighth part only of the population are consumers of alcohol, then it will result that each of those persons who are consumers drinks 97 litres 28 centilitres at 37.5 degrees of strength, or 3,791 glasses (*petits verres*) in the year, or 10½ in the day. If the question of the consumption of alcohol be taken from another point of view, and on the assumption that only adult males in France

¹ "Rapport fait au nom de la commission du monopole de la rectification de l'alcool, chargée d'examiner la proposition de loi relative au monopole de la rectification de l'alcool, par M. Guillemet, député." Séance du 19 Janvier, 1897.

drink spirit, it will be found that in 1893 the number of electors (who must be adult males) was 10,443,000, or 27·5 of the aggregate population. Each of these, then, drinks five glasses (*petits verres*) a day; and this quantity, it should be remarked, is exclusive of any spirit clandestinely made by small growers which escapes taxation and official notice. In the face of these facts it becomes possible, the Commissioners remark, "to understand the dismay of moralists in view of these millions of glasses of poison daily served out to the French population."

The greater part of the spirit drunk is consumed in the departments of the north and north-west of France, where it is produced. Thus, in 1894, the consumption per head in the Seine-Inférieure was 13 litres 21 centilitres of pure alcohol; in the Somme 10 litres 09 centilitres; while further south in La Vendée the consumption only reached 84 centilitres. In the departments of the north-west it is stated "*that the daily consumption of alcohol absorbs half the average salary of the working population.*"—*Board of Trade Return*, No. 408, 1897.

AVERAGE INCOME OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

In 1884-6, the aggregate national income—as the following figures will show—was between twelve and thirteen hundred millions:—

	£.
Sir Louis Mallet, K.C.S.I. (1883-4) . . .	1,289,000,000
Professor Leone Levi (1885) . . .	1,274,000,000
Professor A. Marshall (1885) "upwards of" .	1,125,000,000
Sir Robert Giffen (1886) . . .	1,270,000,000
Mr. Mulhall (1889) . . .	1,285,000,000

Since then, however, the gross assessments to income tax have increased by about £80,000,000, and allowing for a corresponding increase in the incomes not assessed, we may assume that the present income of the nation is at least

£1,400,000,000. Of this sum 42 per cent. may be said to belong to the working classes (Sir R. Giffen, 43 per cent.; Professor Marshall, 42 per cent.; Professor Leone Levi, 41 per cent.; Mulhall, 37 per cent.), whose aggregate income, therefore, may be fixed at about £590,000,000. This sum distributed among 6,000,000 families would give an average family income of £1 17s. 6d. per week. These figures, of course, must only be taken as representing the *nominal* income of the working classes. The *actual* average income is probably much less.

FOOD AND EFFICIENCY.

IN answer to the question as to what is the minimum quantity of food required for efficient subsistence, it may be said that the ordinary accepted standards are estimated in terms of the three most important classes of the nutritive ingredients, or nutrients of food: (1) nitrogenous foods, or proteids;¹ (2) fats; (3) carbo-hydrates.²

¹ Proteids are essential for renewing the tissues of the body, and are absolutely necessary to life. They are compounds of carbon, oxygen, and hydrogen with nitrogen, but often associated with a little sulphur and phosphorus also. "Proteids are found in all animals used as food by man; and also in many productions of the vegetable kingdom—from which two sources the body can alone be supplied. We find the proteid element abundantly in lean meat, the muscle of animals, where it is known as 'myosin,' also in the blood and other parts as 'fibrin.' . . . Proteids are largely present in eggs, forming 'albumen,' or what is familiarly known as the 'white of eggs'; and in milk as 'casein,' the nitrogenous constituent of cheese. Again, in wheat, and existing therefore in bread, in smaller proportion, as 'gluten'; and in the leguminous seeds (peas and beans) abundantly, as 'legumin,' which is almost identical with 'casein.'"—Sir Henry Thompson, *Food and Feeding*, p. 22.

² Carbo-hydrates, although not absolutely essential to life like

By comparing the amounts of carbon, oxygen, hydrogen and nitrogen, actually found by experiments to be consumed by different individuals, and also noting the amount and composition of the food of different people, estimates have been made of the quantities of the several nutrients required by individuals of different classes under various conditions.

The best information on the subject comes from Germany, where elaborate observations and experiments have been made by Liebig, Moleschott, Pettenkofer, Voit and others. Payen in France, and Frankland, Playfair and others in England, have also made most valuable contributions to our knowledge of the subject.

(a) *Amount of Food required for Bare Subsistence.*

Speaking broadly it may be said that the minimum amount of food on which the body can *live*, but not do hard work, is $2\frac{1}{4}$ oz. of nitrogenous food, 1 oz. of fat, 12 oz. of carbohydrates, and $\frac{1}{4}$ oz. of mineral salts *per diem*.¹ The *weekly* equivalent of this in ordinary foods would be 3 lb. of meat with 1 lb. of fat on it, or with the same quantity of butter or lard, two quartern loaves of bread, and about an ounce of salt and other condiments. For meat, if necessary, could be substituted two extra quartern loaves, or 21 lb. of potatoes, or between 5 and 6 lb. of oatmeal. This is, however, the diet of *bare existence*, and a person reduced to it could "undertake no habitual toil, mental or bodily, under the penalty of breaking down."² The cost of this diet for a

the proteids, are most desirable elements of food. They are largely furnished by the vegetable kingdom, consisting chiefly of the starches of all grain, roots, and tubers, with the sugars and the gums; in milk they exist as milk sugar, or 'lactose.'

¹ See Playfair, *The Food of Man in relation to his Useful Work*, p. 9.

² "Bare existence" diet is allotted by the Home Office authorities to prisoners sentenced for short terms without hard labour. Under a sentence of seven days a prisoner gets daily 1 lb. of

family of five persons would be from 7s. to 10s. per week, according as the diet consisted of bread only, or bread and meat in the proportions shown above. That is to say, a married man with a wife and three children would need to spend from seven to ten shillings a week *to keep himself and his family from starvation*.¹

(b) *Workhouse Diets.*

On a somewhat higher level than this, but one that is still below the standard of what we may call *efficient* subsistence, are the dietaries allowed to indoor paupers. According to Mrs. Barnett,² the regulation diet of the Whitechapel Workhouse—an institution which stands high on the list for careful management and economical administration—is as follows:—Breakfast and supper—one pint of tea (made of one ounce of tea to a gallon of water) and five ounces of bread and a tiny bit of butter. For dinner the inmates have meat three times a week, pea-soup and bread twice, suet pudding once, and Irish stew on the other day. The total allowance “comes only to 10½ oz. of carbonaceous food and 2½ oz. of nitrogenous food, against the estimated quantity of 16 oz. carbonaceous and 4 oz. nitrogenous, which is the necessary allowance for ordinary people, and against the 25 oz. carbonaceous and 5 oz. nitrogenous, which is the regulation diet of the Royal Engineers during peace. It is true that these old folk do not need so much food, for their bodies have ceased to grow and develop, and in aged persons the wear of the frame does not require such replenishment as in the case with

bread and a quart of gruel containing 4 oz. of oatmeal. For more than seven and under twenty-one days he has an extra ½ lb. of bread. For longer terms it is advised to add potatoes and meat.

¹It must be remembered that growing children, in whom tissue change is rapid, require more than a bare subsistence diet.

²*Practicable Socialism*, 2nd edition (1894), p. 20.

young and middle-aged people; but even with this partial diet we find that the cost of maintaining each of these old people is, for food alone, 3s. 11d. per head per week. Here, then, we have a fact on which a calculation is easy to make, and which, when made, forces us to see that the workman cannot keep his family as well as the pauper is kept."

But dismissing the question of the insufficiency in quantity and quality of the workhouse diet for an ordinary workman, and assuming a family of five persons to be fed *on the workhouse scale*, the weekly food bill of the family would amount to 13s. 9d. per week. Even this sum, however, would only allow each child one half of the quantity of food consumed by an indoor pauper—a quantity that is manifestly insufficient.¹

If we turn from Whitechapel—where the *régime* is admittedly stringent—to St. Pancras, one of the most populous parishes in London, the figures are higher. By the courtesy of a member of the present Board of Guardians we are able to append the most recent returns of food expenditure in the St. Pancras Workhouse. The dietary, although slightly better than that allowed at Whitechapel, is certainly not open to the charge of extravagance. The breakfast of the able-bodied consists of 5 oz. of bread and a pint of oatmeal porridge. For dinner they are allowed meat three times a week, meat-pie once, pea-soup and bread once, suet pudding once, and Irish stew on the remaining day. Supper consists of 5 oz. of bread and 1 pint of mutton broth, or the same quantity of bread with a pint of oatmeal porridge. In the case of the aged and infirm, a pint of tea is given in place of the oatmeal porridge, with the addition (for breakfast and sup-

¹ "In youth food should be abundant. At this time the body is not only growing, but tissue change or metabolism is active, leading to vigorous life. . . . This energy and the necessary growth of the body cannot be maintained without an abundant food supply."—*Diet in Sickness and in Health*, by Mrs. Ernest Hart (with Introduction by Sir Henry Thompson), p. 53.

per) of half an ounce of butter. The actual cost *per head* for 2,218 inmates (including 113 children) is 4s. 7½*d.* per week.

ST. PANCRAS WORKHOUSE.

Table showing the cost per head of the dietaries in force,
March, 1899.

WORKHOUSES, INFIRMARY, SCHOOLS, AND BOARDED-OUT.

Men.	Women.	Children under					Total.	Weekly Cost of Mainte- nance.	
		2 years.	9 years.		16 years.				
		Infants.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.			
893	1212	30	WORKHOUSE.		7	37	2218	s.	d.
			19	20				4	7½
271	200	9	INFIRMARY.		16	13	536	7	3
			ST. ANNE'S HOME.						
473	—	—	—		—	—	473	3	6¾
			LEAVESDEN		SCHOOLS.				
—	—	—	244	110	111	131	596	4	3
			CASUAL WARDS.						
52	10	1	—		1	—	64		
			TRAINING		SHIP "EXMOUTH."				
—	—	—	—		65		65	5	1½
			BOARDED-OUT.						
—	—	—	17	36	22	26	101	3 0 4 0	
1689	1422	40	290	184	221	207	4053		

Taking therefore a family of five persons, and adopting the dietary standards of the St. Pancras Workhouse, the aggregate weekly expenditure on food (assuming each child to be allowed *one half* of the quantity allowed to an adult pauper) would amount to 16s. 1*d.* per week. The dietary of the children in the Workhouse schools is, however, necessarily fixed on a more liberal scale, and the cost is proportionately higher, the average *per capita* cost for food in the case of 596

children¹ being 4s. 3d. per week. If we assign the same diet to each of the workman's children, and assume the cost to be the same, the total food bill of the family would amount to 22s. per week.

(c) *Diet for "Moderate Labour."*

The exact amount of food required for *efficient* subsistence cannot be summarily stated for the reason that physical constitutions refuse to conform to arbitrary standards, but the experiments of physiologists in many lands enable us to decide the point with at least approximate accuracy. Professor Voit, of the University of Munich, who has made more extensive researches upon this subject perhaps than any one else, computes that a fair daily ration for a labouring man of average weight, at moderate work, would need to supply 4·2 ounces (0·26 lb.) of proteids, 2 ounces (0·12 lb.) of fats, and 17·6 ounces (1·10 lb.) of carbo-hydrates.² Of course he may get on with less of one, provided he has more of the others. But there is a minimum below which he can-

¹ This number, it will be seen, includes 354 children of over two and under nine years of age, and 242 children of over nine and under sixteen years of age.

² These figures may be compared with the "General Averages" given by Playfair in his essay on *The Food of Man in relation to his Useful Work* (p. 19).

	Subsistence Diet.	Diet in quietude.	Diet of Adult in Full Health.	Diet of Active Labourers.	Diet of Hard-worked Labourers.
	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.
Flesh-formers (i.e. Proteids) . . .	2·0	2·5	4·2	5·5	6·5
Fat.	0·5	1·0	1·8	2·5	2·5
Starch.	12·0	12·0	18·7	20·0	20·0
Starch equivalent	13·2	14·4	22·0	26·0	26·0
Carbon	6·7	7·4	11·9	13·7	14·3

not go without injury, and especially he must not have too little protein. He may have more proteids and less carbohydrates or fats with no great harm, but with too little proteid he will suffer, no matter how much carbo-hydrates his food may furnish.

Professor Atwater, of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, has published the results of a series of analyses made in the Government laboratory in behalf of the Smithsonian Institution (U.S. National Museum), together with a list of "Food Budgets" for working people, constructed on the standard of nourishment adopted by Professor Voit.¹

It is not proposed, says Professor Atwater, "that any person or family should attempt to follow these exactly. For that matter the chemist will evidently have to consult the cook if he proposes to construct dietaries to accord with ordinary tastes." The rations, nevertheless, "help to show how foods may be economized, and what proportions would suffice for the nourishment of ordinary people, and what are the constituents and costs of the different materials. They are estimated to supply very nearly the amounts of nutrients in Voit's standard ration for a labouring man at moderate work."²

The diets given range in cost from eleven or twelve cents ($5\frac{1}{2}d.$ or $6d.$) up to forty-five cents ($1s. 10\frac{1}{2}d.$) per day, but for the purpose of the present inquiry a few of the cheapest have been selected. From these it appears that the *minimum* cost of the diet required by a labouring man of average weight at moderate work (adopting Prof. Voit's standards), would be in England from sixpence to sevenpence per day. This sum, however, as will be seen from the particulars given on pp. 453-4, allows of a drink diet of *water* only; tea,

¹ The budgets were calculated by Professor Atwater's assistant (Mr. Rookwood) and are published in the former's admirable treatise on *The Chemistry and Economy of Foods*, pp. 115 *et seq.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 119.

coffee, and cocoa being all excluded.¹ But even on this scale of dietary the minimum food expenditure of a family of five persons (*i.e.* husband and wife and three children) would be from 12s. to 13s. 6d. per week²—a sum which, according to the estimate of Mr. Edward Atkinson,³ the well-known American economist, is exactly one-half of the amount actually spent by working-class families in the Eastern and Middle States of America, where the cost of food is less than in England.

SPECIMEN DIETS.

The following are a few of the daily rations suggested by Prof. Atwater in his essay on *The Chemistry and Economy of Foods*, to which reference has already been made. They are computed to furnish nutrients equivalent to those of the standard adopted by Prof. Voit for a labouring man at moderate work.

STANDARD RATION.—Proteids (118 grams), 0·26 lb.; fats (56 grams), 0·12 lb.; carbohydrates (500 grams), 1·10 lb.

DAILY RATIONS.

No. 1.	No. 2.
Beef, neck $\frac{1}{2}$ lb.	Smoked herring $\frac{1}{2}$ lb.
Beans $\frac{1}{4}$ "	Potatoes 1 "
Potatoes 2 "	Beans $\frac{1}{4}$ "
Oatmeal $\frac{1}{4}$ "	Wheat flour 1 "
Butter $\frac{3}{4}$ oz.	Butter 1 oz.
Rye flour $\frac{1}{2}$ lb.	

¹ In a few cases a small quantity of milk is allowed.

² In this calculation the wife is assumed to require eight-tenths as much as her husband, while two children are reckoned as one adult—a basis of calculation which may be accepted as approximately reliable.

³ *The Food Question in America and Europe*, p. 35.

No. 3.		No. 4.	
Beef, shin	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb.	Liver	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb.
Oatmeal	$\frac{1}{2}$ „	Potatoes	1 „
Corn meal	$\frac{1}{2}$ „	Butter	1 oz.
Milk	$\frac{1}{2}$ pt.	Corn meal	1 lb.
Potatoes	1 lb.	Bread	$\frac{1}{2}$ „
Butter	1 oz.		

No. 5.

Fresh mackerel	$\frac{3}{4}$ lb.
Potatoes	1 „
Cracked wheat	$\frac{1}{2}$ „
Corn meal	$\frac{1}{2}$ „
Beans	$\frac{1}{4}$ „
Butter	1 oz.

A perhaps clearer suggestion is that afforded by the dietaries of European soldiers in time of peace. According to Dr. Parkes the regulation diet of a British soldier on home service is $5\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of meat, and 7 lb. of bread weekly. This does not profess to be a sufficient diet, but is supplemented by the soldier himself by the purchase of additional bread, vegetables, milk, and groceries out of his pay. Taking the price of meat at 7*d.* per lb. and bread at 5*d.* per 4 lb. loaf, the actual *per capita* cost of the regulation diet (*i.e.* bread and meat alone) is 3*s.* 10*d.* per week, or for a family of five persons (reckoning two children as one adult) 12*s.* 8*d.* per week. Such a diet is said to be "sufficient for anybody under ordinary circumstances of regular light occupation; but should extra demands be made upon mind or body weight is lost, and if the demands continue to be made the health will suffer."

The daily ration of an American soldier (said to be the most generous in the world) is 22 oz. of bread or flour; 20 oz. of fresh or salt meat; 7 oz. of potatoes (*i.e.* 16 oz. three times a week); $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of rice; $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of coffee (or $\frac{1}{4}$ oz.

of tea); $2\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of sugar; $\frac{2}{3}$ of a gill of beans; $\frac{1}{3}$ of a gill of vinegar; and .16 of an oz. of salt. The cost of this diet at English prices for a family of five persons would be 22s. 2d. per week.

Another estimate that may be quoted is that furnished by Dr. Meinert in his brochure entitled *Wie nährt man sich gut und billig?*¹—("How to feed oneself well and economically?")—an essay that was honoured with a prize awarded by a committee consisting of Professors Voit, Forster, and Beneke, three of the best known German authorities on the subject. In this essay Dr. Meinert gives three schedules of food expenditure for families whose annual incomes vary from 800 marks (£40) to 1,500 marks (£75). In the case of the lowest of these incomes (£40), he allowed a total expenditure of 60 per cent. for food. In the case of the highest (£75), he allowed an expenditure of 53 per cent. for food.²

We will take the latter estimate for our present inquiry. It refers, it will be noticed, to a family whose total income averages 29s. per week. The dietary selected by Dr. Meinert was calculated for a family consisting of father, mother, and two children aged ten and twelve years respectively—the mother and two children being taken as equal in their consumption to two labouring men. Dr. Meinert further assumed that to earn so large a sum as £75 per year, or 29s. a week, more than ordinarily hard work would be required, and hence, following Professor Voit's figures, he provided a ration with nutrients a little in excess of the standard for a labouring man at moderate work.³ The average cost of the

¹ Quoted by Professor Atwater, *The Chemistry and Economy of Foods*, pp. 109–114.

² This proportion, it should be noted, corresponds very closely to the proportions recognised by Engel in his standards of necessary food expenditure for working-class families.

³ Professor Voit's standards for an ordinary labouring man doing moderately hard work, and for the same man at severe

ration actually allowed was 220 pfennings (2s. 2½*d.*) per day or, reckoning the family as three adults, 73 pfennings (8¾*d.*) per head. Assuming the family to have consisted of *five* persons (*i.e.* father, mother, and *three* children) instead of four as suggested by Dr. Meinert, the actual expenditure on food would, on the basis adopted in the previous cases, amount to 17*s.* *per week.*

This estimate is curiously confirmed by an analysis of the food expenditure of more than 200 working men (living in an American boarding house for working men) made by the Massachusetts State Bureau of Labour Statistics in 1886.¹ The particulars of the diet are appended, and cover the food consumption of 237 men (all labourers) for thirty-nine weeks. The average cost per man for the whole period was \$1.30 (5*s.* 4*d.*) per week. Now assuming, as we have hitherto done, that an ordinary working woman requires eight-tenths, and a child five-tenths, as much as a working man, the weekly cost of this diet for a family of five persons (making no allowance for the relatively higher cost of food in England) would be 17*s.* 7*d.*

work are stated below, and with them Dr. Meinert's standard for the family in question.

NUTRIENTS IN DAILY RATION.

Nutrients.	Professor Voit's Standards.		Dr. Meinert's Standard for family with 1,500 marks per year.
	For labouring man at moderate work.	For labouring man at severe work.	
Proteids . . .	118 grams. (0.26 lb.)	145 grams.	120 grams.
Fats	56 " (0.12 lb.)	100 "	70 "
Carbo-hydrates	500 " (1.10 lb.)	450 "	500 "

¹ See *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labour, Massachusetts.*

TABLE SHOWING THE FOOD CONSUMPTION OF 237 WORKING MEN IN AN AMERICAN BOARDING-HOUSE DURING A PERIOD OF 39 WEEKS.

Food.	Total for 237 men.	Average one man per week.
Beans	118 bushels	·012 bushel
Beef	19,683 lb.	2·12 lb.
Butter	8,121 "	·878 "
Coffee	370 "	·04 "
Dried Apples . . .	1,716 "	·185 "
Fish	2,550 "	·275 "
Flour	534 barrels	·057 barrel
Molasses	2,272 gallons	·245 gallon
Mutton	2,840 lb.	·307 lb.
Onions	81 bushels	·008 bushel
Peas.	98 "	·01 "
Pork	250 barrels	·027 barrel
Potatoes	1,842 bushels	·199 bushel
Rice.	787 "	·085 "
Salt	2,925 lb.	·316 lb.
Soap	1,708 "	·184 "
Tea	600 "	·064 "
Turnips	31 bushels	·003 bushel
Vinegar	262 gallons	·028 gallon
Milk	2,821 quarts	·305 quart

RELATIVE COST OF FOOD IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

"The price of bread is lower in England than anywhere else; next in the United States and Belgium, and, finally, highest in France and Germany. The kind and quality of flour used is by no means the same, so that to obtain an equal amount of nourishment a much larger sum must be spent in the Continental countries than in Great Britain and the United States. The average prices of the meats which find their way to the working man's table, without reference to kind, figures out 23 per cent. more in Germany, 47 per cent. more in Belgium, 50 per cent. more in Great Britain, and 52 per cent. more in France than in the United States. Potatoes cost 3 per cent. more in Great Britain, 19 per cent.

more in France, than in the United States; but 30 per cent. and 50 per cent. respectively less in Belgium and Germany. Butter is 4 per cent. dearer in Great Britain, 9 per cent. dearer in Belgium, 22 per cent. dearer in Germany, and 35 per cent. dearer in France than in the United States. Sugar in England is only half the price it was in the United States before 1890; but the same article is 19 per cent. more in Germany, 51 per cent. more in Belgium, and 84 per cent. more in France. Coffee costs 13 per cent. more in Belgium, 19 per cent. more in Germany, 40 per cent. more in Great Britain, and 67 per cent. more in France than in the United States. Lard and eggs form no exception to the general rule. It is impossible to escape the conclusion that, with the prevailing prices of provisions so preponderatingly in favour of the American labourer, and seeing that his family is smaller, his larger absolute expenditure means unquestionably that he and his kind are better nourished."—Dr. E. R. L. Gould, *Contemporary Review*, January, 1893.

RELATION OF INTEMPERANCE TO PAUPERISM, INSANITY AND CRIME.

In discussing the social and economic results of intemperance, it is impossible to leave out of consideration the relation which intemperance bears to pauperism, insanity and crime.

I. PAUPERISM.

That there is an intimate connection between intemperance and pauperism is indisputable, but the extent and directness of the connection is still matter for conjecture.

One of the most important of the few systematic attempts to investigate the relation of intemperance to pauperism in this country was that undertaken by a Committee of the Lower House of Convocation of the province of Canterbury in 1869. In the course of an exhaustive inquiry (which sought to discover the part which intemperance plays in the

production of insanity and crime as well as pauperism) forms of inquiry were transmitted to the Governors and Chaplains of Prisons, and Heads of the Constabulary throughout Great Britain; to the Superintendents of Lunatic Asylums in England and Wales; and to the Judges, the Recorders, the Coroners, and the Masters of Workhouses throughout England. In summing up the evidence obtained on the subject of pauperism, the Committee state:—"From an extensive and minute inquiry prosecuted by your Committee throughout the workhouses of the country—as well as from other authenticated statements—it can be shown that an enormous proportion of the pauperism which is felt to be such a burden and discouragement by the industrious and sober members of the community, and has such a degrading and demoralizing effect upon most recipients of parochial relief, is the direct and common product of intemperance. It appears, indeed, that at least seventy-five per cent. of the occupants of our workhouses, and a large proportion of those receiving outdoor pay, have become pensioners on the public, directly or indirectly, through drunkenness, and the improvidence and absence of self-respect which this pestilent vice is known to engender and perpetuate. The loss of strength and wealth to the country, the increase of taxation, the deterioration of national character thus produced, it is at once humiliating and irritating to contemplate."¹

In the appendix to their Report, the Committee publish the replies received from one hundred and nineteen "Governors" (or masters) of workhouses, giving the proportion of cases of pauperism coming within their jurisdiction due, directly or indirectly, to drink. The proportion given varies, it is needless to say, in different districts, and, in any case, is to be accepted only as an approximate estimate based upon general observation and ordinary official experience; but it is significant that in hardly a single instance does the estimate fall

¹ Report by the Committee on Intemperance for the Lower House of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, pp. 9, 10.

below a proportion of one-half, while in the great majority of cases, the estimate given varies from two-thirds to eight-tenths.

Mr. Charles Booth, as the result of his analysis of the statistics of pauperism in the Stepney, St. Pancras, and Ashby-de-la-Zouch Unions, gives figures which suggest a very much smaller percentage. In analysing, for example, the stories of between six and seven hundred persons in the Stepney workhouse institutions who were "actually in receipt of relief on April 30th, 1889," Mr. Booth found that drink stood as "principal cause" in 80 out of 634 cases, or 12.6 per cent., whilst as "contributory cause" it appeared in 85 more, "chiefly in connection with sickness and old age as principal cause." Altogether, only 25 per cent. are returned as affected by drink. "This proportion," says Mr. Booth, "is less than might have been expected, and it is probable that closer research into the circumstances and history of these people, if it could be made, might disclose a greater connection than here appears between pauperism and the public-house."

In the case of the St. Pancras inquiry, the basis of investigation was somewhat different, no account being taken of those who had been permanently in receipt of relief for at least two years, nor of some other "old stagers" as to whom detailed knowledge had lapsed. The inquiry was, in point of fact, entirely confined to cases of "current pauperism" in the workhouse itself. The figures for Stepney, on the other hand, include the infirm and sick as well as the able-bodied, and all except quite a few old cases.

The figures for St. Pancras—which are based on the answers given by the relieving officers to questions put as to the previous history of the inmates admitted by their order between June 1st, 1888, and December 31st, 1889—show that out of 736 cases drink was the "principal or obvious cause" in no fewer than 161, or 21.9 per cent., and a "contributory cause" in 46 others.

In the case of Ashby-de-la-Zouch the figures were very

similar. Out of 77 cases where the cause of pauperism was given, drink was assigned as the cause in 16, or nearly 21 per cent.

In estimating the true value of these figures, and especially in comparing them with the estimates given by experienced poor law workers and public officials, it is necessary to remember that the information upon which they are based does not, as Mr. Booth himself admits, go much beyond proximate causes. "No elaborate research or analysis has been attempted. The stories have been taken as they were found; where drink appears to occupy the first place, it has its big 'D'; and where it is mentioned, but in a secondary way, it has its little 'd'; and if it is not mentioned at all, it is assumed (no doubt often erroneously) that as a cause of pauperism it has not been present. Of drink in all its combinations, adding to every trouble, undermining every effort after good, destroying the home and cursing the young lives of the children, the stories tell enough. It does not stand as apparent chief cause in as many cases as sickness or old age, but if it were not for drink, sickness and old age could be better met. Drink must, therefore, be accounted the most prolific of all the causes; and it is the least necessary."¹

A somewhat similar inquiry to that undertaken by Mr. Booth was made in Manchester in 1883 by Mr. Alexander. M'Dougall, Vice-Chairman of the Manchester Board of Guardians. In prosecuting his inquiry, Mr. M'Dougall very properly declined to base his conclusions upon the information gathered by the Relieving Officers for the guidance of the Guardians, on the ground that such particulars chiefly relate to the circumstances of applicants at the time of asking for relief, and give very little information as to their previous history. He adopted instead a scheme of careful personal investigation which allowed him to trace the actual antecedents of each case separately. Particulars were taken of 254 cases, of which 120 were outdoor cases (chosen, with the

¹ C. Booth, *Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age*.

assistance of the Relieving Officers, from three separate districts), and 100 indoor cases taken from the workhouse and hospital at Crumpsall. The balance was made up of cases in the lock and vagrant wards. The results of the inquiry (which were published by the Board of Guardians in January, 1884¹), showed that "51·24 per cent. of the pauperism of the township was directly caused by drinking habits," while it established the further fact "that of the paupers whose poverty was certainly brought about by drink, a larger number were of families of skilled workmen than of families of unskilled labourers." The full classification of the cases was as follows:—

	Per cent
Class 1.—Pauperism caused by old age or infirmity	14·86
Class 2.—Pauperism caused by disease (not brought on by misconduct) or by accidental injuries	15·62
Class 3.—Pauperism caused through the head of the family being unable to find employment, though willing to work	2·78
Class 4.—Pauperism caused by idleness or thriftlessness apart from drunken or immoral habits	—
Class 5.— <i>Pauperism caused by drunkenness in men</i>	24·32
Class 6.— <i>Pauperism caused by drunkenness in women</i>	4·40
Class 7.— <i>Widows and children of drunkards</i>	21·84
Class 8.—Widows and children—husbands having been well conducted	15·30
Class 9.— <i>Widows of well-conducted husbands who have drunken sons, who could support them if steady</i>	·68
Class 10.—Women reduced to pauperism by immoral conduct—not drunkards	·20
	<hr/>
	100·00

¹ *Inquiry into the Causes of Pauperism in the Township of Manchester*, by Alexander M'Dougall.

Further information on the subject is furnished by the investigations undertaken at the instance of the State Legislature by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labour in 1894-5.¹

Out of 3,230 paupers—this being the total number found in the State institutions during twelve consecutive months (*i.e.* August 20th, 1894, to August 20th, 1895),—2,108, or 65·26 per cent., were found to be addicted to the use of liquor. The excessive drinkers numbered 505, or 15·63 per cent. of all the paupers. The total abstainers numbered 866, or 26·81 per cent. Of the total abstainers, however, 429 were minors, 281 being under ten years of age. There were also 31 minors addicted to the use of liquor. Excluding all the minors, whether total abstainers or not, we have 2,752 paupers of adult years, of whom 2,077, or 75·47 per cent., were addicted to the use of liquor, including 504 excessive drinkers and 1,573 drinkers not classed as excessive. Of the whole number of paupers, 47·74 per cent. had one or both parents intemperate. The results of the inquiry are summed

The section of the Act (chap. 332 of the Acts of 1894) authorising the investigation was as follows:—

“The bureau of statistics of labour is hereby directed to ascertain, from all sources available, facts and statistics showing the number of commitments to all institutions, penal and charitable, resulting from the use or abuse of intoxicating liquors; the number of crimes committed by persons while under the influence of intoxicating liquors; the number of crimes of each class thus committed; the number of paupers whose present condition can be traced to the use or abuse of intoxicating liquors by themselves or by their parents, guardians, or others; the number of persons who have been pronounced insane, and whose condition can be traced to the use or abuse of intoxicating liquors by themselves, their ancestors, or by others; and in general, such other data as will tend to show the relation of the liquor traffic to crime, pauperism, and insanity in this commonwealth, and the period of time to be covered by this investigation shall include not less than twelve successive months.”

up in the following statement. Of the total number of adult paupers, nearly 40 per cent. (39.44) attributed their pauperism to their own intemperate habits; about 5 per cent. attributed it to the intemperance of their parents, one or both; and about 1 per cent. attributed it to the intemperance of those upon whom they were dependent, other than parents.¹

It may be interesting to add that of the whole number addicted to the use of liquor, 25, or about 1 per cent., used wines only; 417, or about 20 per cent., used lager beer or malt liquors only; 38, or not quite 2 per cent., used distilled liquors only; and 1,628, or about 77 per cent., used all kinds, or at least two kinds, of liquor.

Summary.

The relation which these estimates bear to one another will be more clearly seen if we briefly summarise them. This is done in the following table:—

Investigation undertaken by.	Number of Cases Investigated.	Percentage of Cases attributable (directly or indirectly) to Drink.
1. Committee of the Lower House of Convocation, Canterbury.	119 Workhouses, etc., England and Wales	75
2. Mr. Charles Booth	634 (Stepney) . .	25
" " "	736 (St. Pancras) .	23
" " "	77 (Ashby-de-la-Zouch) . . .	21
3. Mr. Alex. M'Dougall	254 (Manchester) .	51
4. Massachusetts State Bureau of Labour Statistics	2,752 (Massachusetts)	45

It is obviously impossible to draw any but the most general conclusions from investigations of this kind. They

¹ *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labour (Massachusetts), 1896.*

cannot in the nature of the case give us more than approximate results, but they suffice to justify Mr. Charles Booth's statement that "drink must be accounted the most prolific of all the causes [of pauperism]; and it is the least necessary."

II. INSANITY.

The relationship which intemperance bears to insanity, although still, to some extent, matter for speculation, is nevertheless a question concerning which it is possible to get fairly reliable and authoritative data. That specialists still differ as to the extent of the relationship is hardly matter for surprise, since, in a disease of so subtle and insidious a nature, wherein several predisposing causes may, and often do, act in combination, it is often impossible accurately to distinguish between them.

A careful analysis of the Annual Reports of the Commissioners in Lunacy shows that of the total number of cases admitted into asylums in England and Wales during the last twenty years, no less than 20 per cent. of the male cases, and 7·6 per cent. of the female, were due to drink. The figures are as follow :—

Year.	Number of Cases of Insanity ¹ due to Intemperance in Drink.			Percentage of all Cases.	
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.
1878	1,420	531	1,951	21·3	7·9
1879	1,350	512	1,862	21·1	7·6
1881	1,280	450	1,730	19·3	6·6
1883	1,379	474	1,853	19·6	6·4
1884	1,365	524	1,889	19·2	7·2
1885	1,299	495	1,794	20·4	7·2
1886	1,312	525	1,837	19·5	7·5
1887	1,343	576	1,919	18·9	7·9
1888	1,453	603	2,056	19·9	7·9
1888-92	1,600	667	2,267	20·5	8·1
1891-95	1,779	760	2,539	20·9	8·5
1892-96	1,873	814	2,687	21·6	8·9

¹ The "assigned causes" given in the Report of the Com-

In referring to the figures in their Fifty-first Annual Report, the Commissioners say: "Very great reliance cannot be placed on the returns from which these tables are compiled, but so far as they go, it would appear that 'hereditary influence'¹ continues to be the most fruitful cause, 'previous attacks' coming next, and 'intemperance in drink' third."

That the figures quoted under-estimate, rather than otherwise, the actual influence of intemperance is not only extremely probable, but almost certain. A few considerations will make this plain. It is to be remembered (1) that the returns upon which the figures are based include a large proportion of cases where no history at all is available;² (2) that the medical officers in our large asylums have so many cases to receive annually, that they cannot make exhaustive inquiries as to causation: some may do, but many cannot; (3) that in inquiries of this kind much depends upon the personal equation of inquirer and of informant. This (as regards the latter, at any rate) is hardly on the side of sound views as to moderation or intemperance when we are dealing with the whole country.

Dr. Claye Shaw, Medical Superintendent of Banstead Asylum, in his Annual Report for the year ended March

missioners are not taken from the "Statements" in the papers of admission of the patients, but are those which have been assigned by the medical officers of the asylums.

¹ In the Report referred to, "hereditary influence" represents 23 per cent., and "previous attacks" 19 per cent. of the total number of "admissions."

² The percentages given in the table are based not upon the total number of cases having an "assigned cause" of insanity, but upon the total number of *admissions*, which include a considerable proportion of cases for which no assigned cause is given. In the five years 1891 to 1895, for example, the average number of admissions was 17,512, in 2,987 of which—representing 17 per cent. of the whole—the cause of insanity is stated as "unknown."

31st, 1897, in referring to the difficulty of obtaining accurate returns of "causes," says:—

"Table X., showing the causes of insanity, has been very carefully compiled, and it shows the difficulty of obtaining accuracy here, for out of the 763 admissions, a trustworthy history was forthcoming in only 358 instances—barely half. In 26 patients (21 men and 5 women) notwithstanding that a trustworthy history was obtained, it was still impossible to find the cause. The figures show that only 17 per cent. of the admissions were directly due to drink."¹

Dr. Robert Jones, Medical Superintendent of the Claybury Asylum, in his report for the same year, says:—

"Owing to a general revival of trade . . . the past year has been a prodigious one for drink; 22 per cent. of all the admissions were due to this cause, which is 2 per cent. higher than that recorded last year. As to drink, the state of its horrors is not confined to present victims, but in an unsparing degree is propagated among future generations, and something is urgently needed to galvanize the nation's self-control in this direction. Preventive medicine now enters largely into the duties of the State, and the great increase in drink insanities calls, in my opinion, for more stringent action on its part to promote its own sobriety."²

Dr. G. R. Wilson, (until recently an Assistant Physician at the Royal Edinburgh Asylum, of which Dr. Clouston is the Physician-Superintendent), in his volume on *Drunkenness*,³ says: "In the year 1890 the facts showing the importance of drunkenness as a *cause* of insanity were so conclusive, that Dr. Clouston devoted a large part of the Royal Edinburgh Asylum Report to their consideration. He says 'Taking the admissions to the West House alone—that is, working people chiefly—and confining the inquiry to men

¹ *Eighth Annual Report of the Asylums Committee (London County Council)*, pp. 34, 35.

² *Ibid.*, p. 72.

³ *Social Science Series* (Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London).

between twenty-five and sixty, the chief wage-earning period of life, I find that 53 of the total of 124, or 42·7 per cent., were of those in which alcoholic excess was assigned as the predisposing or exciting cause. . . . Alcoholic excess is the most frequent single exciting cause of mental disease, and it acts also as a predisposing cause in very many cases. During the past fifteen years we have had 837 admissions in whom drink has been put down as the cause, or 16·4 per cent. of all our admissions during that time. This may be taken as about the general experience of the country.' ”

In discussing the question again in his Report for 1892, Dr. Clouston says: “Looking to our own statistics of the year, the increase in numbers does not appear to be explained fully by the special prevalence of any one cause or form of mental malady. Ninety-three cases, or 21 per cent. of the whole, were said to be due to drinking, but then we had 26 per cent. of our admissions alcoholic last year. Sixteen and a half per cent. had been our annual proportion during the previous fifteen years.”¹

Further evidence, but of a more limited character, is furnished in the Annual Reports of the English Commissioners of Prisons. These Reports give particulars of the number of cases of insanity occurring each year among prisoners in the local and convict prisons of England and Wales. The increase in the number of these in recent years is to be accounted for partly by the growing practice of remanding to prison for a period of medical observation, persons who have committed some offence while in an apparently unsound state of mind. Many of these persons are discharged to the police courts at the expiration of the period of observation (generally one week), and are then dealt with by the police authorities; but as they happen to have spent a few days in confinement, and as their disease has been discovered in prison, they go to swell the number of prison lunatics. Many

¹ *Eightieth Annual Report of the Royal Edinburgh Asylum*, p. 13.

other lunatics find their way into prison as the result of the operation of the existing lunacy laws, and of the difficulties thrown in the way of certifying to the existence of insanity. To certify that any person is insane is a responsibility not lightly to be undertaken, and, if possible, to be avoided altogether. The madman is consequently allowed to wander about the country until he commits some crime. He is then committed to prison, is certified to be insane, and is forthwith removed to an asylum. In these numerous cases, the prison is merely a certifying office or agency, through whose instrumentality the unhappy lunatic is at last recognised and dealt with as his condition requires.¹

In the Report of the Commissioners for the year ended March 31st, 1898, particulars are given of 150 cases of insanity occurring among convicted prisoners in the local and convict prisons of England and Wales during that year. The "supposed cause of insanity"² is given in 74 cases, and of these no less than 31 or 42 per cent. are described as directly due to, or connected with, drink. Similar figures are given in the Reports for previous years. In 1897, out of 93 cases where the "supposed cause of insanity" was given, 35 or

¹ See *Report of the Medical Inspector of Prisons* for year ended March 31st, 1896. Out of 479 cases of insanity in that year "no less than 316 were certified or discharged to police courts as insane within one month of reception. In the vast majority of cases, if not in every case, these prisoners were unsound in mind not only at the time of reception into prison but also at the time that they committed the offences which brought them under the notice of the police. Of the remainder, as many as 55 were found insane on arraignment, or guilty but insane, and were ordered to be detained during her Majesty's pleasure. This reduces the number to be accounted for to 108, and of these 32 were certified to be insane within two months, and 16 within three months of reception."

² The "supposed cause of insanity" includes cases described as "hereditary" as well as "recurrent attacks."

38 per cent. were described as directly due to, or connected with, drink. In 1896 the percentage of such cases was 37.¹

In referring to the matter in his Report for 1898, the Medical Inspector of Prisons says: "The liability to insanity is an unknown quantity, but it may be safely asserted that the habits, the excesses, and the debauches of the average prisoner tend to predispose him to more risk in this respect than the average free man. If we turn to the statistical tables of the Commissioners in lunacy, we find that alcoholism is one of the most prolific of the causes of insanity, and no one will pretend to deny that the same cause operates most strongly in filling our penal establishments. It is not generally known that numerous cases of delirium tremens are treated in the prison hospitals in the course of a year. The great majority of these cases recover, but there is a residuum where prolonged intemperance lights up a nervous disorder which culminates in insanity."

Dr. Edgar Sheppard, the late Superintendent of Colney Hatch Asylum, and Professor of Psychological Medicine in King's College, in a letter to the *Times* on October 15th, 1873, said: "It is beyond a doubt that the taste for spirituous liquors and the habit of intemperance are growing evils, productive of an amount of distress and misery which defy calculation. Certainly if any one is in a position to measure their effects, a Superintendent of a Lunatic Asylum is. For 12 years I have here watched and chronicled the development of the greatest curse which afflicts the country. From 35 to 40 per cent. is a fairly approximate estimate of the ratio of insanity directly or indirectly due to alcoholic drinks."

General estimates of this kind, authoritative as they undoubtedly are, are not to be pressed unduly, but it is important to note that they are in general agreement with the results obtained by the Massachusetts Bureau of Labour

¹ See the *Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Prisons and Directors of Convict Prisons* for 1896, 1897, and 1898.

Statistics in the course of its official investigations in 1894-5. Out of 1836 cases of insanity investigated—the total number found in the State Institutions canvassed during twelve consecutive months—33 per cent. were found to have one or both parents intemperate,¹ while in 21 per cent. of the cases, alcohol directly contributed to the insanity.²

CONCLUSION.

The data upon which the foregoing estimates are based differ so widely, that it would be misleading to attempt to summarise the results given. In view, however, of all the evidence, it is impossible to doubt that from one-fifth to one-fourth of the total insanity of the country is due, directly or indirectly, to intemperance in drink. The actual proportion is probably in excess of this estimate; it is impossible to assume that it is less.

III. CRIME.

The influence of intemperance upon crime is much more direct and obvious, and although it is difficult to arrive at any precise and authoritative standard of relationship, the fact of a considerable relationship is not seriously disputed. So far back as 1834 we find a Select Committee of the House of Commons including among the evils distinctly traceable to the traffic in intoxicants, "the spread of crime in every shape and form," whereby "the gaols and prisons, the hulks and transport convicts are filled with inmates; and an enormous mass of human beings, who under sober habits and moral training, would be sources of wealth and strength to the country, are transformed, chiefly through the remote or immediate influence of intoxicating drinks, into excrescences of corruption and weakness, which must be cut off and cast away from the community to pre-

¹ In 51 per cent. of the cases no information on the point could be obtained.

² In 18 per cent. of the cases no history was forthcoming.

vent the gangrenous contamination of its whole frame, leaving the body itself in a constant state of that inflammatory excitement, which always produces exhaustion and weakness in the end."

Fifteen years later, we find a Select Committee of the House of Lords giving very similar testimony,¹ while in 1854 another Select Committee of the House of Commons declared that the evidence presented to it by responsible witnesses, and which was "entitled to especial weight," tended "to establish that whatever individual propensity there may be to crime is, with few exceptions, brought into activity by habits of intemperance."²

Statements of this kind are of too general a character to be available as evidence in an exact inquiry, but they are important as embodying the conclusions to which responsible Parliamentary Commissions have been led by the evidence submitted to them.

The general evidence on the subject falls naturally into two broad divisions. Included in the former are the testimonies of judges, governors and chaplains of prisons, and responsible social workers, who have been brought into close contact with the facts; while in the latter category may be placed the evidence obtained by careful investigations concerning the actual history and antecedents of a stated number of criminals.

(a) *Testimonies of Governors and Chaplains of Prisons, Judges, etc.*

The Committee of the lower House of Convocation (Province of Canterbury), in the course of their inquiry in 1869,

¹ See *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to consider the Operation of the Acts for the Sale of Beer*, 1849-50, p. iv.

² *Report of the Select Committee on Public Houses*, 1854, p. xv.

addressed a series of specific questions on the subject to a large number of Judges, Magistrates, Governors and Chaplains of Prisons, Chief Constables, etc., in various parts of the United Kingdom. The replies (numbering more than 200) are published in the Appendix to their Report, and making the most liberal allowance for the informal and non-scientific character of the conclusions arrived at, they certainly constitute a formidable indictment of the liquor traffic. Nearly the whole of the replies estimate the proportion of crime due, directly or indirectly, to drink at from 60 to 80 per cent., while some place it even higher. Lord Chief Justice Bovill, in a communication which he specially authorised to be published, declared:—"I have no hesitation in stating that in the North of England, and in most of the large towns and the manufacturing and mining districts, intemperance is directly or indirectly the cause of by far the largest proportion of the crimes that have come under my observation, and you have, I believe, in your published charge, correctly stated the views of the Judges generally upon this subject." Lord Chief Baron Kelly, wrote:—"I should be very happy indeed, if I had the time and the means, to answer your letter more satisfactorily than I am able to do at the present moment . . . At this moment I can only express my belief—indeed, I may say my conviction—that two-thirds of the crimes which come before the courts of law of this country are occasioned chiefly by intemperance." Another well-known judge—the Rt. Hon. Sir H. J. Keating—declared:—"I should suppose the testimony of every Judge upon the bench would be the same as to the fact that a very large proportion of the crimes of violence brought before us are traceable, either directly or indirectly, to the intemperate use of intoxicating liquors. In my own experience of more than nine years upon the bench, corroborated by a very long experience at the bar, I have no hesitation in saying that such is the case."

In the Appendix to the Third Report of the Lords' Committee on Intemperance (1877), the results of a similar

inquiry, undertaken a few years later¹ by a Committee of the Convocation of York, are given. We subjoin the table embodying the replies received from the Governors and Chaplains of gaols.

EXTRACTS FROM RETURNS FROM THE GOVERNORS AND
CHAPLAINS OF GAOLS.

No.	Average number of prisoners under charge.	Qy. What proportion of those who have come under your cognizance as criminals have been the victims of drinking habits and associates, directly or indirectly?	Qy. What proportion of recommittals may be ascribed to drinking habits and associates, and to what extent do these militate against the reformation of criminals on their release?
1	1,176	75 per cent.	75 per cent.
2	40	Two-thirds.	Nearly all.
3	41	More than half.	ditto.
4	700	80 per cent.	ditto.
5	144	90	ditto.
6	189	One-third directly.	Three-fourths.
7	893	85 per cent.	Nearly all.
8	80	75 "	Four-fifths.
9	133	75 "	ditto.
10	126	75 "	ditto.
11	80	Fully two-thirds.	125 out of 221.
12	79	80 per cent.	70 per cent.
13	200	60 per cent. directly.	75 "
14	93	90 per cent.	75 "
15	384	60 "	75 "
16	270	75 "	A large proportion.
17	300	75 "	50 per cent.
18	156	90 "	Nearly all.
19	280	60 "	65 per cent.
20	127	75 "	85
21	199	90 "	Most of them.
22	200	90 "	Nearly all.
23	93	90 "	80 per cent.
24	13,000 yearly	75 "	A very large proportion.

Without in any way ignoring the strict limits within which statements of this kind can be accepted as evidence,

¹ The figures were published in a special Report in 1874.

it must nevertheless be admitted that they point to a close connection between intemperance and crime. The impression of their general value as evidence is confirmed by other direct testimony. The late Lord Justice Lush, speaking at the Bristol Spring Assizes, in 1875, said: "I think it would astonish many persons if they knew how large a proportion of crime is traceable, directly or indirectly, to drink. I am almost afraid to name the proportion; but my own impression is derived from constant experience in every county in England, that more than one-half of the crimes that are brought before us are to be ascribed to the influence of drink—sometimes the influence of drink upon the guilty person, sometimes the influence of drink upon the victim; the condition of the victim tempts the criminal into crime. So that between the two, I think I am right in saying that more than one-half, and I think I might say considerably more than one-half, of all the crime that comes before us is traceable, directly or indirectly, to drink."

Six years later,¹ Lord Justice Kay, when presiding at the Liverpool Assizes, said: "I am going to say a few words which you must have heard a great many times, and which judges are rather tired of repeating, but my apology is that I have special reason for saying them to you. Many of the cases in this calendar are offences which have been committed under the influence of drink. A long experience as a county magistrate, and my experience as a judge upon the North-Eastern Circuit twice, and upon this Circuit, have quite convinced me that I am speaking within the mark when I say that if the people of this country would be weaned from the fatal habit of drinking, crime would be diminished one-half."

Ten years later still (*i.e.* in 1891) the late Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, speaking at the Birmingham Summer Assizes, said: "Few people have opportunities of realizing as I have the terrible effects produced by in-

¹ November, 1881.

temperance. Of course, there are cases which stand quite aside from the influence of the public-house—crimes such as perjury, forgery, false pretences, and others—which require the assistance of education. But drunkenness is mainly the cause of the commoner sorts of crime, and if England could be made sober, three-fourths of her gaols might be closed.”

PROPORTION OF OFFENCES OF DRUNKENNESS.

Drunkenness alone is responsible for a very large proportion of the total prison population. Out of 14,194 prisoners in local prisons in England and Wales on May 25th, 1898, 8 per cent. of the men and 25 per cent. of the women were undergoing sentences for simple drunkenness; while a further 7 per cent. of the men and 5 per cent. of the women were there as “vagrants.”

In his report for the year ended March 31st, 1898, the Visiting Chaplain of Prisons (England and Wales) wrote: “Everywhere, it is stated that intemperance is the prime cause of the majority of commitments to prisons. In one of the northern prisons, the Chaplain says that there are at present no less than eight offenders who have upwards of 160 convictions against them. With a large number of habitual inebriates the prison is little else than a useful sanatorium, which, so low is their mode of life and their code of morals, is an acceptable place of rest and quiet for them.”

The Chaplain of the Wakefield prison in his report for the same year stated: “From November 24th, 1897, to March 24th, 1898, there were 756 cases of drunkenness with sentences of under three months. Eighty-two of these admitted that they were powerless to resist drink if once tasted; eighty-seven were hopeful cases, and promised to abstain entirely for the future; eight appeared utterly hopeless, having been convicted from 60 to over 130 times. For this latter class of prisoners short sentences are entirely useless.”

(b) *Results of Special Investigations.*

The part which drink actually plays in the production of crime is seen more clearly in the results of specific investigations undertaken at different times by public officials and others.

At the Annual Congress of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science in 1868, the Rev. H. L. Elliot, M.A., Chaplain of the Birmingham Borough Prison, gave particulars of the first convictions of 1,000 prisoners brought under his notice during the preceding eighteen months. The cases were taken, without selection, in the order in which they presented themselves to him in the course of his daily visitations. The results of the investigations are given in the subjoined table :¹—

First convictions supposed to be traceable to	Number examined, who on the occasion of the last offence had been				Total
	Indicted.		Summarily Convicted.		
	M	F	M	F	
1. Bad company—					
(a) Acquaintances made in the street, workshop, or home, etc.	126	32	74	18	250
(b) Acquaintances made in the public-house, dancing saloon, etc. . . .	69	0	25	7	101
2. <i>Drink</i>	43	13	126	23	205
3. <i>Poverty</i>	11	6	25	10	52
4. <i>Opportunity</i>	33	7	35	2	77
5. <i>Want of principle</i>	44	11	5	7	67
6. <i>Bad temper</i>	7	4	51	34	96
7. <i>Immorality and wantonness</i>	4	12	12	11	39
8. <i>Incapacity and imbecility</i>	3	2	6	0	11
9. <i>Other causes</i>	13	1	73	15	102
Total	353	88	432	127	1,000

¹ *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, 1868, p. 327.*

In a second table¹ the results of a further examination of 500 prisoners in the Birmingham Borough Gaol are given, the figures in this case dealing with the cause of the *last* conviction :—

TABLE SHOWING THE EFFECT OF DRINK IN CAUSING CRIME.

Last conviction supposed to be traceable to	Number of Prisoners examined.			
	M	F	Total.	Per cent.
Drink	119	26	145	29·00
Drunken habits and companions . .	63	10	73	14·60
Other causes	194	88	282	56·40
Total	376	124	500	100·00

Other and more recent information on the subject is contained in the last Annual Report (1898) of the Commissioners of Prisons for England and Wales. We will quote two cases only. The first has reference to Wakefield. The total number of "first offenders" in the Wakefield prison for the year ended March 31st, 1898, was 561. Of these, 140 were charged with actual drunkenness, and 183 for offences committed under the influence of drink. The full statement of the cases is given in the following table:²—

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

² *Report of the Commissioners of Prisons and the Directors of Convict Prisons (England and Wales) for the year ended March 31st, 1898*, p. 413.

Month 1897 to 1898.	Number of First Offend- ers.	Number of Men charged with Drunk- enness.	Number of other Offences attri- buted to Drink.	Number of other Offences.	Percent- age of charges for actual Drunk- enness.	Percent- age of Offences includ- ing actual Drunk- enness attri- buted to Drink.
April	141	36	23	82	25.53	41.84
May	116	41	33	42	35.34	63.79
June	68	25	10	33	36.76	51.47
July	37	8	19	10	21.62	72.97
August	40	7	12	21	17.5	47.5
September	38	8	16	14	21.05	63.15
October	36	5	16	15	13.88	58.33
November	25	6	15	4	24.00	84.00
December	16	2	12	2	12.5	87.5
1898.						
January	21	1	14	6	4.76	71.42
February	11	1	7	3	9.09	72.72
March	12		6	6		50.0
Total and aver- ages for en- tire period	561	140	183	238	24.95	57.57

In the same volume, particulars are given of 1,166 commitments to the Warwick prison during the same period. The particulars are as follow :¹—

Charged with being drunk	201
Crimes directly due to drink.	287
Crimes arising from avoidable and unavoidable poverty —probably 50 per cent. of the poverty arising from drink	264
Crimes due to the moral state of character, 30 per cent. perhaps the result of drink, <i>i.e.</i> , of the said moral condition	199
Arising from passion, with more or less provocation.	68
Bad company (the drink element comes in here again)	86
Negligence, imprudence, accidental, uncertain, etc.	61

Total 1,166

¹ *Report of the Commissioners of Prisons, 1898.*

INTEMPERANCE AND CRIME IN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.

It will add further interest to the inquiry if we compare the estimates thus far given with evidence derived from other English-speaking peoples.

(a) *Canada.*

We will take Canada first. In the course of their investigations in 1893-95 the Royal Canadian Commissioners issued a number of circulars bearing on the relation of intemperance to crime, to various magistrates and judges in the Dominion. The replies were afterwards tabulated, and the result is given in the following table, which we extract from the final Report of the Commission (published in 1895). The question set for decision was the proportion of criminal cases attributable, directly or indirectly, to the use of intoxicating liquors. Of those who replied :—

- 8 placed the percentage at between zero and 10 per cent.
- 11 placed the percentage at between 10 per cent. and 25 per cent.
- 9 placed the percentage at between 25 per cent. and 50 per cent.
- 65 placed the percentage at between 50 per cent. and 75 per cent.
- 15 over 75 per cent.
- 53 were indefinite in their replies.
- 6 made no reply to the question.

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Such statements, it need hardly be repeated, have no definitive value as evidence, but they may quite legitimately be quoted as evidence of the broad impression which continuous acquaintance with the details of crime produces in the minds of disinterested observers. Much clearer evidence of the connection between intemperance and crime in Canada is furnished by Mr. Fanshawe in his valuable work on *Liquor*

Legislation in the United States and Canada. Mr. Fanshawe takes the total number of persons convicted of indictable offences in the Dominion of Canada during the years 1885-91, and divides them into three classes: *Moderate drinkers, immoderate drinkers, and teetotalers.* He also classifies the offences under different heads. The figures, he tells us, were "derived from information officially obtained respecting prisoners on their conviction."¹ We give in the following table the broad results of the analysis:—

INDICTABLE OFFENCES IN CANADA.

Nature of Offence.	Percentage of cases.	
	1885-88.	1889-91.
<i>Offences against the Person—</i>		
Moderate Drinkers	44·00	38·04
Immoderate Drinkers	47·00	51·50
Teetotalers	9·00	10·46
<i>Offences against Property with Violence—</i>		
Moderate Drinkers	50·00	46·37
Immoderate Drinkers	35·00	41·63
Teetotalers	15·90	12·00
<i>Offences against Property without Violence—</i>		
Moderate Drinkers	50·84	47·90
Immoderate Drinkers	31·56	39·70
Teetotalers	17·60	12·40
<i>Malicious Offences against Property—</i>		
Moderate Drinkers	56·00	44·00
Immoderate Drinkers	25·48	23·00
Teetotalers	18·52	28·00
<i>Forgery and Offences against the Currency—</i>		
Moderate Drinkers	62·22	56·10
Immoderate Drinkers	26·67	34·10
Teetotalers	11·11	9·80
<i>Other Offences—</i>		
Moderate Drinkers	53·63	48·11
Immoderate Drinkers	32·47	36·32
Teetotalers	13·90	15·57

¹ Fanshawe, *Liquor Legislation in the United States and Canada*, p. 396.

(b) *The United States.*

One of the most valuable of the few official inquiries into the influence of intemperance upon crime was the careful investigation made by the Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labour¹ in 1879-80.

A comparison of the statistics of crime in the State during a period of twenty years (*i.e.*, 1860-1879) showed that out of a total of 578,458 sentences, 340,814, or 60 per cent., were sentences for 'rum' offences (*i.e.*, drunkenness, etc.) There were, however, no sources of information from which it was possible to ascertain the weight of the influence of intemperance in the commission of all crimes other than 'rum' offences, and "our means would not allow us to canvass all the courts in the Commonwealth: we therefore instituted an investigation for the year, current from September 1st, 1879, to September 1st, 1880, with a view to discover what that influence is, in the County of Suffolk (Mass.), during the above year." The investigation dealt exclusively with all sentences for offences other than the distinctive 'rum' offences, passed during the year.

"The total number of sentences for the year of our investigation—the distinctive rum offences included—was 16,897. Twelve thousand two hundred and eighty-nine were directly due to 'rum' causes; 12,221 being for sentences for the various grades of drunkenness, and 68 for liquor keeping and liquor selling without licence, etc. Thus, for the year, the sentences for 'rum' causes alone constituted 72 per cent. of the whole, leaving a small balance of 27 per cent. Now, to discover what was the influence of intemperance in the commission of this balance, formed the object of this investigation."

"We sought," says Mr. Wright, "to compass the object of our investigation by ascertaining the connection between rum and the criminal in five directions:—

¹ Now U.S. Commissioner of Labour, Washington.

- (1) Whether the criminal was under the influence of liquor at the time the crime was committed.
- (2) Whether the criminal was in liquor at the time he formed the intent to commit the crime.
- (3) Whether the intemperate habits of the criminal were such as to lead to a condition which induced the crime.
- (4) Whether the intemperate habits of others led the criminal to a condition which induced the crime.
- (5) What were the drinking habits of the criminal, whether total abstainer, moderate drinker, or excessive drinker?

And, for the purpose of enabling us to make this investigation as thorough and accurate as possible, we endeavoured, through our agents, to acquaint ourselves with each criminal, his history, his friends, his neighbourhood, his real name, and the exact name and nature of his offence; his residence, his occupation, his age and birthplace. In each of the nine courts of criminal jurisdiction in the County of Suffolk, we had an agent, paid to investigate each case that appeared in the same."

The facts thus gathered are presented in the following statement:—

	Yes.	No.	Not answered.	Total.
1. Was the criminal under the influence of liquor at the time the crime was committed?	2,097	2,318	193	4,608 ¹
2. Was the criminal in liquor when the intent to commit the crime was formed?	1,918	2,414	276	4,608
3. Did the intemperate habits of the criminal lead to a condition which induced the crime?	1,804	2,566	238	4,608
4. Did the intemperate habits of others lead the criminal to a condition which induced the crime?	821	3,404	383	4,608

¹ Total of cases investigated after deducting sentences "vacated" by reason of death, successful appeal, etc.

It will thus be seen that 2,097, or 45 per cent., were in liquor at the time of the commission of the offence of which they were found guilty ; that 1,918, or 42 per cent., were in liquor at the time of the formation of the criminal intent ; that the intemperate habits of 1,804, or 39 per cent., were such as to induce a moral condition favourable to crime ; and that 821, or 18 per cent., were led to a criminal condition through the contagion of intemperance.¹

In summing up the results of the inquiry, Mr. Carroll Wright says :—

“These figures paint a picture, at once the most faithful and hideous, of the guilt and power of rum. Men and women, the young, the middle-aged, and the old, father and son, husband and wife, native and foreign born . . . all testify to its ramified and revolting tyranny. Therefore the result of this investigation, in view of the disproportionate magnitude of the exclusively rum offences, and considered in connection with the notorious tendency of liquor to inflame and enlarge the passions and appetites, to import chaos into the moral and physical life, to level the barriers of decency and self-respect, and to transport its victims into an abnormal and irresponsible state, destructive and degrading, calls for earnest and immediate attention at the bar of the public opinion and the public conscience of Massachusetts.”²

In obedience to the mandate of a special Act passed by the State Legislature in 1894, a further and more extended inquiry was made by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics in 1894-95. Under the terms of the Act authorizing the investigation, the collection of information occupied twelve successive months, the period closing August 20th, 1895.

¹ Of the persons sentenced for assault and battery, and larceny (amounting to 2,613, or 56 per cent. of the whole), no less than 1,275, or 48 per cent., were in liquor at the time of the commission of the offence.

² *Twelfth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labour*, 1881.

The details of the inquiry, which covered no less than 26,672 cases of crime, are fully and elaborately set forth in the Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labour, and can only be summarized here. The results are certainly striking, and they confirm in a very remarkable way the results of the earlier investigation.

Out of the 26,672 cases examined, 17,575, or 65·89 per cent., were convictions for drunkenness; and 657, or 2·46 per cent., for drunkenness in combination with other offences. In 8,440 cases in which drunkenness did not form part of the offence, that is, in which the offender was convicted of a crime other than drunkenness, 3,640, or 43·13 per cent., were cases in which the offender was in liquor at the time the offence was committed; 4,852, or 57·49 per cent., were cases in which the offender was in liquor at the time the intent was formed to commit the offence; 4,294, or 50·88 per cent., were cases in which the intemperate habits of the offender led to a condition which induced the crime; while in 3,611, or 42·78 per cent., the intemperate habits of persons other than the offender were said to have been influential in the commitment of the offence.

Of the whole number of convictions, namely, 26,672, the number of offenders addicted to the use of liquor was 25,137, or 94·24 per cent. The excessive drinkers numbered 4,516 (16·93 per cent.), and the total abstainers numbered 1,535 (5·76 per cent.). Of the total abstainers, however, 632 were minors. There were also 680 minors addicted to the use of liquor. Excluding all the minors, whether total abstainers or not, we have 25,360 offenders of adult years, of whom 24,457, or 96·44 per cent., were addicted to the use of liquor, including 4,482 excessive drinkers, and 19,975 drinkers not classed as excessive. Of the whole number of offenders, 57·89 per cent had fathers who were addicted to the use of liquor, while 20·49 per cent. had mothers addicted to the use of liquor. Again, of the whole number of offenders addicted to the use of liquor, 126, or less than one per cent., used wines only; 4,293, or about 17 per cent., used lager beer or malt

liquors only ; 728, or about 3 per cent., used distilled liquors only ; and 19,990, or about 80 per cent., used all kinds, or at least two kinds of liquor.¹

Conclusion.

Such, in broad outline, are the chief sources of information on the subject. The evidence, it will be seen, is of unequal worth, but its cumulative effect is practically irresistible in compelling a conviction of the powerful influence which intemperance exerts in the production and perpetuation of crime.

¹ During the twelve months covered by the investigation, the arrests in the State for all offences numbered about 41 (41·41) to each 1,000 of the population. In cities, such arrests numbered about 55 (55·01), and in towns (*i.e.*, what in England would be called villages) about 16 (15·67) to each 1,000 of the population. The arrests for drunkenness only numbered about 25 (24·59) in the State at large, about 34 (33·73) in the cities, and about 7 (7·29) in the towns (*i.e.* villages) to each 1,000 of the population.

MORTALITY DUE TO INTEMPERANCE (ENGLAND AND WALES).

I. *Chronic Alcoholism.*

Table showing the number and ratio of deaths attributable to chronic alcoholism in the years 1877-96.

Year.	Number of Deaths.			Ratio per Million Living.		
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1877	479	255	734	40	20	30
1878	489	288	777	40	22	31
1879	389	266	655	31	20	26
1880	407	269	676	32	20	26
1881	500	347	847	39	26	33
1882	604	400	1,004	47	30	38
1883	550	354	904	42	26	34
1884	537	379	916	41	27	34
1885	552	388	940	42	28	35
1886	586	459	1,045	44	32	38
1887	631	471	1,102	47	33	40
1888	653	472	1,125	48	32	40
1889	691	511	1,202	50	35	42
1890	902	661	1,563	65	45	54
1891	857	645	1,502	61	43	52
1892	859	683	1,542	60	45	52
1893	927	782	1,709	64	51	57
1894	795	672	1,467	55	43	49
1895	920	743	1,663	62	47	55
1896	1,019	756	1,775	68	48	58

II. *Delirium Tremens.*

Table showing the number and ratio of deaths from delirium tremens in the years 1877-96.

Year.	Number of Deaths.			Ratio per Million Living.		
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1877	370	42	412	31	3	17
1878	290	49	339	24	4	14
1879	225	48	273	18	4	11
1880	230	44	274	18	3	11
1881	322	44	366	25	3	14
1882	278	41	319	22	3	12
1883	336	43	379	26	3	14
1884	306	47	353	23	3	13
1885	340	54	394	26	4	14
1886	297	50	347	22	4	13
1887	283	57	340	21	4	12
1888	276	50	326	20	3	12
1889	307	57	364	22	4	13
1890	406	68	474	29	5	16
1891	470	83	553	33	6	19
1892	372	57	429	26	4	15
1893	407	58	465	28	4	16
1894	314	61	375	22	4	12
1895	317	65	382	22	4	13
1896	345	68	413	23	4	13

ENGLAND AND WALES.

TOTAL NUMBER OF LICENSED PREMISES IN 1896.

"On" Licences—

Fully licensed	66,130	
Other "on"	33,180	
Not classified	2,593	
		101,903

"Off" Licences—

With discretion	14,643	
Other "off"	7,409	
Not classified	1,989	
		24,041

Total "On" and "Off" Licences 125,944

Average.—1 licensed house to every 243 inhabitants.

SCOTLAND.

TOTAL NUMBER OF LICENSED PREMISES IN 1896.

Hotels and Inns—

Where spirits are sold	1,663	
Others	14	
		1,677

Public-houses—

Where spirits are sold	5,571	
Others	125	
Restaurants	29	
		5,725

Licensed Grocers—

Where spirits are sold	3,914	
Others	207	
		4,121

Table Beer Licences 103

Total of all licensed premises 11,626

Average.—1 licensed house to every 360 inhabitants.

IRELAND.

TOTAL NUMBER OF LICENSED PREMISES IN 1896.

"On" Licences—

Public-houses	16,740	
Refreshment House Wine Licences	41	
Not Classified	45	
	<hr/>	16,826

"Off" Licences—

Spirit Grocers' Licences	915	
Beer Retailers' Licences	553	
Wholesale Beer Dealers	235	
Not Classified	3	
	<hr/>	1,706

Total of all licensed premises 18,532
 Average: 1 licensed house to every 246 inhabitants.

NUMBER OF LICENSED PREMISES IN CERTAIN SELECTED BOROUGHES IN ENGLAND AND WALES
1896.

Borough.	“On” Licences.			“Off” Licences.			“On” and “Off” Licences.	Ratio of Total No. of Licensed Premises to	
	Fully Licensed	Other “On”	Total “On”	With Discre- tion.	Other “Off.”	Total “Off.”		No. of Dwelling Houses.	Population.
Dudley	224	61	285	24	8	32	317	One to 31	One to 144
Northampton	70	204	274	—	—	153	427	28	152
Southampton	212	266	478	58	38	96	574	33	163
Manchester	518	1,843	2,361	567	86	653	3,014	34	168
Sheffield	523	664	1,187	580	74	654	1,841	36	176
Chester	155	43	198	16	—	16	214	36	176
Wolverhampton	209	192	401	49	20	69	470	39	187
Bristol	424	542	966	151	56	207	1,173	32	195
Nottingham	437	203	640	—	—	504	1,144	47	201
York	204	59	263	—	—	74	337	47	201
Salford	113	442	555	423	24	447	1,002	41	210
Birmingham	666	1,037	1,703	493	104	597	2,300	41	215
Bolton	126	261	387	107	14	121	508	47	235
Leicester	295	172	467	325	38	363	830	49	239
Bradford	190	298	488	382	60	442	930	53	246
Sunderland	241	170	411	128	17	145	556	36	252
Blackburn	252	208	460	34	15	49	509	48	254
Plymouth	147	150	297	20	26	46	343	35	262
Liverpool	1,906	256	2,162	106	42	148	2,310	56	279
Newcastle	395	173	568	74	49	123	691	43	307
Leeds	349	434	783	328	53	381	1,164	73	345
Cardiff	273	6	279	28	34	62	341	73	477

IRELAND.

Table showing the Ratio of Licensed Premises to (a) other houses, and (b) population in certain boroughs in Ireland.

Borough.	Ratio of Licensed Houses to other Houses.	Ratio of Licensed Houses to Population.
	1 to	1 to
Clonmel	11	78
Waterford	15	89
Kilkenny	17	93
Limerick	17	119
Cork	19	129
Queenstown	17	142
Tralee.	21	160
Belfast	33	164
Dublin	33	275

LONDON.

(Metropolitan Police Area.) Population (1896): 6,259,966.

Total Number of Licensed Houses in 1896.

Public-houses	6,860
Beer-houses with "off" licences.	998
" " " "on" or "off" licences	3,269
Refreshment houses with wine licences "on"	307
Houses for the sale of wines in shops with "off" licences	718
" " " " and spirits in shops with	
" " " " "off" licences	1,887

Total number of licensed houses 14,039

Average: 1 licensed house to every 446 inhabitants.

Number of Licensed Houses per square mile in certain Police Divisions in London.

Police Division.	Area (Square Miles).	Total Number of Licensed Houses (1896).	Number per Square Mile.
"C" or St. James's (including Soho)	0.70	559	798
"E" or Holborn	0.80	389	486
"G" or Finsbury	1.75	664	379
"D" or Marylebone	1.26	436	349
"H" or Whitechapel	2.03	704	338
"L" or Lambeth	2.59	502	194
"M" or Southwark	4.16	551	132

Value of Licensed Premises in London (Administrative County ¹) in 1896.

	Gross Value.	Rateable Value.
Public-houses	£1,296,816	£1,082,068
Beer-houses	136,256	113,779
Hotels	286,576	238,565
Clubs	231,530	192,981
Restaurants	152,243	126,942
	£2,103,421	£1,754,335

It will be observed that the valuation of these premises forms one-twentieth of the whole valuation of London.

It is nearly *six* times (5.60) the total rateable value of all the Board Schools and Voluntary Schools in London.

¹ Except Penge.

MANCHESTER (1898).

Public-houses	503
Beer Houses, " On "	1,776
" " " Off "	585
Refreshment Houses with Wine	
Licences, other than beer-houses	125
	<hr/>
	2,989

Average: 1 licensed house to every 180 inhabitants.

EDINBURGH.

	Where				
	Spirits sold.	Others.			Total.
Hotels and Inns	36	1	.	.	37
Public-houses .	304	8	.	.	312
Licensed Grocers	414	2	.	.	416

Total of all licensed houses . . 765
 1 licensed house to every 80 dwelling houses.
 1 " " " " 378 persons.

GLASGOW.

	Where				
	Spirits sold.	Others.			Total.
Hotels and Inns .	20	—	.	.	20
Public-houses .	1,419	6	.	.	1,425
Licensed Grocers	308	2	.	.	310

Total of all licensed houses . . 1,755
 1 licensed house to every 83 dwelling houses.
 1 " " " " 401 persons.

DUBLIN (METROPOLITAN POLICE DISTRICT).

Public-houses	901
Refreshment House Wine Licences	23

Total "On" Licences . . .	924
Spirit Grocers' Licences . . .	289
Beer Retailers' Licences . . .	45
Wholesale Beer Dealers . . .	21

Total "Off" Licences . . . 355

Total of all licensed houses, 1,279.

1 licensed house to every 33 dwelling houses.

1 " " " " 275 persons.

BELFAST.

"On" Licences—

Public-houses	649
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Total "On" Licences . . . 649

"Off" Licences—

Spirit Grocers	370
Beer Retailers' Licences . . .	331
Wholesale Beer Dealers . . .	30

Total "Off" Licences . . . 731

Total of all licensed houses, 1,380.

1 licensed house to every 33 dwelling houses.

1 " " " " 164 persons.

CORK (CITY).

Public-houses	542
<hr/>	
Total "On" Licences	542
Spirit Grocers' Licences	10
Beer Retailers' Licences	17
Wholesale Beer Dealers	12
<hr/>	
Total "Off" Licences	39
<hr/>	
Total of all licensed houses	581
1 licensed house to every 19 dwelling houses.	
1 " " " " " 129 persons.	

APPEALS TO QUARTER SESSIONS.

Summary of the Results of Appeals to County Quarter Sessions against Refusals to renew—during Two Periods of Five Years, 1886-91 and 1891-96.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

	1st January, 1887, to 1st January, 1892.			1st January, 1892, to 1st January, 1897.		
	Total.	Allowed.	Withdrawn or Dismissed.	Total.	Allowed.	Withdrawn or Dismissed.
Cities or Boroughs .	168	72	96	272	124	148
Petty Sessional Divisions .	96	45	51	204	124	80
Total . .	264	117	147	476	248	228

SCOTLAND.

Results of Appeals to Quarter Sessions during the ten years, 1886-96.

	Appeals Allowed.	Appeals Dismissed or Abandoned.	Total.
Burghs. . . .	315	319	634
Counties . . .	179	189	368
	494	508	1,002

STATISTICS OF DRUNKENNESS.

DRUNKENNESS AND CRIME (ENGLAND AND WALES).¹

(Number of Persons Tried, 1857-1896.)

	Proportion per 100,000 of Population.								Comparison between 1857-61 and 1892-96.		
	1857-61.	1862-66.	1867-71.	1872-76.	1877-81.	1882-86.	1887-91.	1892-96.	1896.	Increase per 100,000.	Decrease per 100,000.
ASSIZES AND QUARTER SESSIONS.											
Offences against the Person	10·35	11·95	10·32	9·99	9·10	9·73	9·29	8·79	8·65	—	1·56
Crimes against Property with Violence	9·19	10·01	8·62	5·50	6·73	6·84	6·44	6·77	6·01	—	2·42
Crimes against Property without Violence.	62·84	64·85	57·41	43·32	40·07	30·70	23·78	20·09	18·13	—	42·75
Malicious Injuries to Property	1·00	1·65	1·11	·75	·91	1·03	·95	·82	·77	—	·18
Forgery and Offences against the Currency	4·15	3·01	2·43	1·63	1·90	2·01	1·28	1·21	1·07	—	2·94
Other Offences not included in the above Classes	3·00	3·14	3·11	2·44	2·65	2·82	2·13	1·63	1·51	—	1·37
COURTS OF SUMMARY JURISDICTION.											
Indictable Offences tried Summarily .	175·35	191·33	180·15	156·17	164·22	166·98	153·96	142·62	128·78	—	32·73
Non-Indictable Offences:—											
Assaults.	403·44	433·41	415·21	418·55	341·09	310·34	270·46	247·06	237·90	—	156·38
Stealing and receiving Animals, Fruit, etc..	23·94	23·98	26·25	20·09	21·02	20·03	18·61	15·49	12·91	—	8·45
Malicious Damage	79·55	92·55	98·19	95·81	85·72	79·75	67·41	60·33	56·52	—	19·22
Vagrancy Acts, Offences against . . .	102·26	108·62	137·08	113·45	147·23	151·73	149·12	164·66	170·80	62·40	—
Game Laws, Offences against. . . .	40·37	48·92	52·74	48·98	46·81	39·52	33·43	29·52	28·91	—	10·85
	915·44	993·42	992·62	916·68	867·45	821·48	736·86	698·99	671·96	—	216·45

LONDON (Metropolitan Police Area).

Years.	Average Number of Arrests for Drunkenness. Per 1,000 Population.	
1845-49	.	7.58
1850-54	.	8.90
1855-59	.	6.74
1860-64	.	5.66
1865-69	.	5.48
1870-74	.	6.77
1875-79	.	7.53
1880-84	.	5.50
1885-89	.	4.33
1890-94	.	5.46
1895	.	5.66
1896	.	6.29
1897	.	7.35

PROPORTION OF FEMALE DRUNKENNESS.

LONDON (Metropolitan Police Area).

Years.	Total No. of Arrests for Drunken- ness.	Proportion per 1,000.	Males. Per cent.	Females. Per cent.
1875	30,976	7.57	53	47
1895	34,605	5.66	59	41
1897	46,899	7.35	61	39

THE TEMPERANCE PROBLEM

MANCHESTER.

Years.	Total No. of Persons Pro- ceeded Against for Drunken- ness.	Average No. of Arrests for Drunkenness.	Males. Per cent.	Females. Per cent.
1857-61	—	1,966	80	20
1862-66	—	3,896	77	23
1867-71	—	10,504	75	25
1872-76	—	9,821	71	29
1891	7,041	—	68	32
1892	6,225	—	67	33
1893	6,335	—	64	36
1894	6,988	—	64	36
1895	5,864	—	63	37

LIVERPOOL.

Years.	Average No. of Persons Proceeded Against for Drunkenness.	Males. Per cent.	Females. Per cent.
1876-80	8,350	74	26
1881-85	8,844	76	24
1886-90	6,561	75	25
1891-95	7,884	76	24

GLASGOW.

Years.	Average No. of Persons Arrested for Drunkenness.	Males. Per cent.	Females. Per cent.
1877-81	13,422	70	30
1882-86	12,687	68	32
1887-91	17,029	67	33
1892-96	18,484	68	32

HULL.

Year.	Total Number of Convictions for Drunkenness.	Males. Per cent.	Females. Per cent.
1886	757	74	26
1887	776	73	27
1888	836	71	29
1889	978	71	29
1890	1,095	66	34
1891	1,270	71	29
1892	1,014	70	30

BELFAST.

Year.	Total Number of Persons Proceeded against for Drunkenness.	Males. Per cent.	Females. Per cent.
1891	7,583	71	29
1892	6,905	70	30
1893	5,900	66	34
1894	5,722	70	30
1895	5,729	68	32
1896	6,052	67	33
1897	6,433	70	30

DUNDEE.

Years.	Average Number of Persons Pro- ceeded against for Drunkenness.	Males. Per cent.	Females. Per cent.
1857-61	644	65	35
1862-66	907	65	35
1867-71	956	66	34
1872-76	1,551	67	33
1877-81	1,950	69	31
1882-86	1,509	65	35
1887-91	1,154	63	37
1892-96	1,369	62	38

INFLUENCE OF THE LIQUOR TRADE ON PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS.

TABLE of *Contested Constituencies* in England, Wales, and Scotland which returned Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Members at the General Election of 1895, in which the transfer of one or two votes for every "On" licensed house from the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist to the Liberal side would have affected the result.

GENERAL ELECTION, 1895.

NOTE.—In the case of the two-member constituencies in which two Conservatives or Liberal-Unionists were returned, to gain *one* seat it is merely necessary for the highest rejected candidate to displace the lower of those returned. Thus the number of votes which must be transferred to gain *one* seat equals more than half the difference between the lowest Conservative and the highest Liberal candidate. To gain the remaining seat the majority of the higher Conservative over the second Liberal candidate must be destroyed.

For example, in the case of Norwich (1895) the poll declared was—

C.	. . . . .	8,166
C.	. . . . .	8,034
L.	. . . . .	7,330
L.	. . . . .	7,210

A transference of 353 votes would place the first Liberal above the second Conservative candidate, and thus *one* seat would be gained; whilst a transference of 479 votes would place the second Liberal above the first Conservative, and thus a *second* seat would be gained.

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the influence of the Public-house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of one vote from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of two votes from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.
ENGLAND AND WALES	4,959,805				
"On" Licensed Premises—101,903					
<i>Bath, one seat</i> ¹	7,059	441	145	—	<i>Gain.</i>
Bedford	4,179	166	86	Gain.	—
<i>Bedfordshire (North)</i>	13,744	267	282	<i>Gain.</i>	—
Bethnal Green (North-East)	7,431	160	153	Gain.	—
Birkenhead	14,277	204	293	Gain.	—
Bradford (West)	11,200	455	230	Gain.	—
Bradford (East)	12,997	704	267	—	Gain.
<i>Bradford (Central)</i>	10,316	41	212	<i>Gain.</i>	—
<i>Bristol (North)</i>	11,490	238	236	<i>Gain.</i>	—
Bristol (South)	12,281	759	252	—	Gain.
Buckinghamshire, North (Bucks)	11,395	436	234	Gain.	—
Camberwell (North)	11,064	693	227	—	Gain.
Cambridgeshire, North (Wisbech)	10,495	223	216	Gain.	—
Cambridgeshire, West (Chesterton)	10,651	420	219	Gain.	—
Cambridgeshire, East (Newmarket)	9,738	343	200	Gain.	—
Cardiff	19,358	824	398	—	Gain.
<i>Carmarthen District</i>	5,370	52	110	<i>Gain.</i>	—
Chatham	9,199	583	189	—	Gain.
Cheltenham	7,169	469	147	—	Gain.

¹ Italics indicate Constituencies which returned Liberal-Unionist Members.

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the influence of the Public-house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of one vote from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of two votes from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.
Cheshire (Crewe)	12,018	550	247	—	Gain.
Christchurch	7,477	84	154	Gain.	—
<i>Cornwall, North-West</i> <i>(Camborne)</i>	7,800	462	160	—	Gain.
<i>Cornwall (Truro)</i>	9,057	270	186	Gain.	—
<i>Cornwall, South-East</i> <i>(Bodmin)</i>	9,607	543	197	—	Gain.
Coventry	10,926	350	224	Gain.	—
Cumberland, West (Egremont)	10,424	131	214	Gain.	—
Cumberland, Mid. (Penrith)	8,914	600	183	—	Gain.
Denbigh District	3,751	229	77	—	Gain.
Derby (one seat)	17,379	291	357	Gain.	—
Derbyshire (High Peak) .	10,397	502	214	—	Gain.
Derbyshire (South) . . .	13,347	887	274	—	Gain.
<i>Devonshire, North-West</i> <i>(Barnstaple)</i>	10,885	68	224	Gain.	—
Devonshire (Torquay) . .	10,039	175	206	Gain.	—
Dudley	14,831	741	305	—	Gain.
<i>Durham (South-East)</i> . .	14,702	114	302	Gain.	—
Essex, East (Maldon) . .	10,041	610	206	—	Gain.
Exeter	8,198	494	168	—	Gain.
Finsbury (Eastern) . . .	5,840	270	120	—	Gain.
Glamorganshire (South)	14,227	825	292	—	Gain.
<i>Gloucester</i>	6,900	473	142	—	Gain.
Gloucestershire, Mid. (Stroud)	11,558	661	237	—	Gain.
Gloucestershire, East (Cirencester)	9,825	215	202	Gain.	—
Great Yarmouth	8,139	635	167	—	Gain.
Hackney (Central) . . .	8,835	312	182	Gain.	—

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the influence of the Public-house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of one vote from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of two votes from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.
Hackney (South)	12,360	319	254	Gain.	—
Hartlepool	10,999	81	226	Gain.	—
Hastings	7,292	342	150	—	Gain.
Hull (East)	10,419	150	214	Gain.	—
Huntingdonshire, South (Huntingdon)	5,435	351	112	—	Gain.
Isle of Wight	13,816	446	284	Gain.	—
Ipswich, 2nd seat	9,619	43	198	Gain.	—
Kidderminster	4,195	295	86	—	Gain.
King's Lynn	2,979	69	61	Gain.	—
Lambeth (North)	7,338	401	151	—	Gain.
Lancashire, North (North Lonsdale)	9,458	703	194	—	Gain.
Lancashire, North (Lancaster)	10,778	634	221	—	Gain.
Lancashire, North-East (Darwen)	14,220	841	292	—	Gain.
Lancashire, South-East (Heywood)	9,334	556	192	—	Gain.
Lancashire, South-East (Middleton)	12,446	865	256	—	Gain.
Lancashire, South-East (Radcliffe - c. - Farnworth)	11,259	602	231	—	Gain.
Lancashire, South-East (Eccles)	12,917	420	265	Gain.	—
Lancashire, South-West (Southport)	11,523	764	237	—	Gain.
Lancashire, South-West (Widnes)	8,998	517	185	—	Gain.
Lancashire, South-West (Ince)	10,935	445	225	Gain.	—

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the influence of the Public-house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of one vote from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of two votes from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.
Leeds (Central) . . .	10,353	654	213	—	Gain.
Lincoln . . .	8,068	218	166	Gain.	—
Lincolnshire (South Kesteven or Stamford)	9,657	389	198	Gain.	—
Lincolnshire (Holland or Spalding). . . .	12,775	349	262	Gain.	—
Liverpool (Exchange) .	7,063	254	145	Gain.	—
Manchester (North-East)	9,893	241	203	Gain.	—
Manchester (East) . .	11,991	776	246	—	Gain.
Manchester (South) . .	10,945	78	225	Gain.	—
Manchester (South-West)	9,496	498	195	—	Gain.
Monmouthshire (South)	14,137	612	290	—	Gain.
Montgomery District .	3,030	84	62	Gain.	—
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2 seats	32,373	308	665	Gain.	—
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2 seats	—	1,679	—	—	Gain.
Newington (Walworth)	7,430	553	153	—	Gain.
Norfolk (South-West) .	9,119	206	187	Gain.	—
Northampton, 2nd seat .	11,442	117	235	Gain.	—
Northamptonshire (Mid.)	11,714	282	241	Gain.	—
Norwich, 2 seats . . .	17,494	704	359	Gain.	—
Norwich, 2 seats . . .	—	956	—	—	Gain.
Nottingham (East) . .	11,818	165	243	Gain.	—
Nottingham (South) . .	11,377	433	234	Gain.	—
Oldham, 2 seats . . .	28,783	216	591	Gain.	—
Oldham, 2 seats . . .	—	993	—	Gain.	—
Oxfordshire, South (Henley)	8,932	361	184	Gain.	—
Pembroke District . .	6,299	179	129	Gain.	—
Peterborough	4,787	242	98	—	Gain.
Plymouth, 1st seat . .	13,460	277	277	Gain.	—

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the influence of the Public-house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of one vote from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of two votes from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.
Radnorshire	4,838	8	99	Gain.	—
Reading	9,104	351	187	Gain.	—
Rochdale	11,782	422	242	Gain.	—
St. Helens	9,950	609	204	—	Gain.
St. Pancras (North) . . .	7,256	211	149	Gain.	—
St. Pancras (East) . . .	6,988	289	144	—	Gain.
Salford (North)	8,828	6	181	Gain.	—
Salford (West)	10,439	100	214	Gain.	—
Salford (South)	9,215	74	189	Gain.	—
Salisbury	2,799	217	58	—	Gain.
Shoreditch (Haggerston) .	6,661	31	137	Gain.	—
Somersetshire (North) . .	10,208	686	210	—	Gain.
Somersetshire (Frome) . .	11,633	383	239	Gain.	—
Southampton (one seat) .	14,725	246	303	Gain.	—
Southwark (Bermondsey) .	10,935	360	225	Gain.	—
Staffordshire (Leek) . . .	11,182	614	230	—	Gain.
Staffordshire (North-West)	14,657	668	301	—	Gain.
Stockport, 2 seats	11,062	134	227	Gain.	—
Stockport, 2 seats	—	848	—	—	Gain.
Stoke-on-Trent	11,107	200	228	Gain.	—
Suffolk, South - East (Woodbridge)	12,053	632	248	—	Gain.
Sunderland, 1st seat . . .	22,408	1,634	460	—	Gain.
Sussex, South (Eastbourne)	10,563	60	217	Gain.	—
Swansea	9,091	421	187	—	Gain.
Tower Hamlets (St. George's-in-East) . . .	3,824	4	79	Gain.	—
Tower Hamlets (Stepney) .	6,048	472	124	—	Gain.
Tynemouth	7,659	209	157	Gain.	—
Walsall	11,015	317	226	Gain.	—

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the influence of the Public-house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of one vote from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of two votes from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.
Warrington	8,449	675	174	—	Gain.
Warwickshire, South-East (Rugby)	9,777	284	201	Gain.	—
Wednesbury	10,855	191	223	Gain.	—
West Ham (North) . .	14,294	704	294	—	Gain.
West Ham (South) . .	15,745	775	323	—	Gain.
Wiltshire, West (Westbury)	9,777	166	201	Gain.	—
Wiltshire, East (Devizes)	9,156	477	188	—	Gain.
Wiltshire, South (Wilton)	8,511	263	175	Gain.	—
Wiltshire, North (Cricklade)	10,994	99	226	Gain.	—
Wiltshire, North-West (Chippenham)	8,291	508	170	—	Gain.
Wolverhampton	10,070	823	207	—	Gain.
York City, 1st seat . .	11,807	302	243	Gain.	—
Yorkshire (Richmond) .	10,669	584	219	—	Gain.
Yorkshire (Skipton) . .	11,096	139	228	Gain.	—
Yorkshire (Shipley) . .	14,353	78	295	Gain.	—
Yorkshire (Doncaster) .	14,247	141	293	Gain.	—
Yorkshire (Ripon) . . .	10,219	702	210	—	Gain.
Yorkshire (Otley) . . .	11,038	48	227	Gain.	—

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the influence of the Public-house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of one vote from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of two votes from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.
SCOTLAND	636,097				
"On" Licensed Premises —7,402					
Argyleshire	10,471	135	122	Gain.	—
Ayrshire (South)	15,463	550	180	—	Gain.
Dumbartonshire	12,292	33	143	Gain.	—
Edinburgh City (South)	12,053	97	140	Gain.	—
Elgin and Nairn	5,669	128	66	Gain.	—
Falkirk District	9,363	253	109	—	Gain.
Glasgow (St. Rollex) . .	14,724	361	171	—	Gain.
Inverness-shire.	8,229	100	96	Gain.	—
Kilmarnock	12,027	381	140	—	Gain.
Kircudbrightshire . . .	5,842	173	68	—	Gain.
Lanarkshire (South) . .	9,136	230	106	—	Gain.
Peebles and Selkirk . . .	3,504	54	41	Gain.	—
Perthshire (West) . . .	7,984	292	93	—	Gain.
Stirlingshire	14,329	427	167	—	Gain.
Wick District	2,278	24	27	Gain.	—

Number of Liberal seats gained by the transfer of one vote=83 }
 Number of Liberal seats gained by the transfer of two votes=69 } ¹⁵²

INFLUENCE OF THE LIQUOR TRADE ON PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS.

TABLE of *Contested Constituencies* in England, Wales, and Scotland which returned Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Members at the General Election of 1892, in which the transfer of one or two votes for every "On" licensed house from the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist to the Liberal side would have affected the result.

GENERAL ELECTION, 1892.

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conserva- tive or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the in- fluence of the Public- house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Li- censed House caused the Transfer of one vote from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal- Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Li- censed House caused the Transfer of two votes from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal- Unionist Candidate.
ENGLAND AND WALES	4,770,088				
"On" Licensed Pre- mises—103,000					
Ashton-under-Lyne . . .	7,012	135	151	Gain.	—
Barrow	6,958	422	150	—	Gain.
Bath, 2 seats	6,922	196	149	Gain.	—
<i>Bath</i> , 2 seats	—	257	—	<i>Gain.</i>	—
Berkshire, North (Abing- don)	8,585	326	185	Gain.	—
Berkshire, South (New- bury)	10,338	650	223	—	Gain.

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conserva- tive or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the in- fluence of the Public- house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Li- censed House caused the Transfer of one vote from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal- Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Li- censed House caused the Transfer of two votes from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal- Unionist Candidate.
Birkenhead	13,031	604	281	—	Gain.
Bolton, 2 seats	17,772	565	384	Gain.	—
Bolton, 2 seats	—	893	—	—	Gain.
Bristol (South)	11,887	548	257	—	Gain.
Camberwell (Peckham) .	10,861	183	235	Gain.	—
Cambridge	7,362	255	159	Gain.	—
Chatham	8,629	377	186	—	Gain.
Chelsea	12,585	566	272	—	Gain.
Cheshire (Altrincham) .	11,048	798	239	—	Gain.
Cheshire (Eddisbury) .	10,232	536	221	—	Gain.
Cheshire (Hyde)	9,629	305	208	Gain.	—
Christchurch	6,294	203	136	Gain.	—
Clapham	12,124	644	262	—	Gain.
Colchester	5,000	61	108	Gain.	—
<i>Cornwall, South-East</i> <i>(Bodmin)</i>	9,263	231	200	<i>Gain.</i>	—
Cumberland, Mid. (Pen- rith)	8,733	125	189	Gain.	—
Denbigh District	3,521	98	76	Gain.	—
Deptford	13,066	565	282	—	Gain.
Derbyshire (High Peak)	11,122	366	240	Gain.	—
Devonshire (Torquay) .	9,404	394	203	Gain.	—
Dorsetshire, North (Shaftesbury)	8,714	525	188	—	Gain.
Dorsetshire (South) . .	8,310	168	179	Gain.	—
Dudley	15,303	1,049	330	—	Gain.
Essex, North-East (Har- wich)	10,924	305	236	Gain.	—
Essex, South (Romford)	16,750	1,182	362	—	Gain.
Essex (South-East) . .	11,960	542	258	—	Gain.
Essex, South-West (Walthamstow)	15,323	1,150	331	—	Gain.

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conserva- tive or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the in- fluence of the Public- house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Li- censed House caused the Transfer of one vote from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal- Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Li- censed House caused the Transfer of two votes from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal- Unionist Candidate.
Exeter	7,792	555	168	—	Gain.
Fulham	11,266	211	243	Gain.	—
Gloucester, South (Thornbury)	11,867	224	256	Gain.	—
Gloucester, North (Tew- kesbury)	11,519	903	249	—	Gain.
Grantham	2,693	33	58	Gain.	—
Greenwich	10,256	323	221	Gain.	—
Hackney (Central) . .	8,951	285	193	Gain.	—
Hammersmith	11,534	669	249	—	Gain.
Hampshire (New Forest)	10,126	755	219	—	Gain.
Hastings	6,576	449	142	—	Gain.
<i>Herefordshire, South</i> <i>(Ross)</i>	10,968	457	237	Gain.	—
Hull (Central)	12,350	476	267	Gain.	—
Huntingdonshire, North (Ramsey)	6,546	37	141	Gain.	—
Huntingdonshire, South (Huntingdon)	5,479	22	118	Gain.	—
Ipswich, 2 seats	9,384	223	203	Gain.	—
Ipswich, 2 seats	—	462	—	—	Gain.
Isle of Wight	12,957	461	280	Gain.	—
Islington (North) . . .	10,782	810	233	—	Gain.
Islington (South) . . .	8,299	321	179	Gain.	—
Islington (East)	9,872	465	213	—	Gain.
Kent, South (Ashford) .	14,314	1,231	309	—	Gain.
Kent, North-East (Fa- versham)	14,219	204	307	Gain.	—
Kent, North-West (Dart- ford)	14,227	572	307	Gain.	—
Kent, South-West (Tun- bridge)	12,494	933	270	—	Gain.

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the influence of the Public-house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of one vote from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of two votes from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.
Kidderminster	4,236	265	91	—	Gain.
King's Lynn	2,970	11	64	Gain.	—
Lancashire, South-East (Prestwich)	12,827	155	277	Gain.	—
Lancashire, South-West (Southport)	10,514	584	227	—	Gain.
Lancashire, South-West (Widnes)	9,014	205	195	Gain.	—
Leeds (Central).	10,215	113	221	Gain.	—
Leeds (North)	12,294	1,014	265	—	Gain.
Lincolnshire (South Kesteven or Stamford)	9,733	124	210	Gain.	—
Lincolnshire (South Lindsey or Horn-castle)	9,555	738	206	—	Gain.
Manchester (North-East)	9,449	110	204	Gain.	—
Manchester (East)	11,418	398	247	Gain.	—
Marylebone (West)	8,052	487	174	—	Gain.
Montgomery District . . .	2,936	118	63	Gain.	—
Norfolk (South)	8,848	753	191	—	Gain.
Norfolk (South-West) . .	8,499	338	184	Gain.	—
Northamptonshire (North).	9,999	669	216	—	Gain.
Northumberland (Hexham)	9,954	82	215	Gain.	—
Norwich, 1st seat.	16,623	907	359	—	Gain.
Nottingham (South). . . .	11,010	83	238	Gain.	—
Nottingham (West)	13,411	301	290	Gain.	—
Nottinghamshire (Bassetlaw).	9,606	402	207	Gain.	—
Oxford	7,476	120	161	Gain.	—

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conserva- tive or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the in- fluence of the Public- house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Li- censed House caused the Transfer of one vote from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal- Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Li- censed House caused the Transfer of two votes from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal- Unionist Candidate.
Oxfordshire, South (Henley)	8,731	419	189	—	Gain.
Paddington (North) . .	6,396	310	138	—	Gain.
Plymouth, 2 seats . .	12,431	160	268	Gain.	—
Plymouth, 2 seats . .	—	220	—	Gain.	—
Pontefract	2,518	40	54	Gain.	—
St. Helens	9,370	59	202	Gain.	—
<i>St. Pancras (South)</i> . .	6,106	437	132	—	<i>Gain.</i>
St. Pancras (East) . .	6,598	441	142	—	Gain.
St. Pancras (West) . .	7,754	42	167	Gain.	—
Salford (South)	9,060	37	196	Gain.	—
Salford (West)	9,635	40	208	Gain.	—
Scarborough	4,877	171	105	Gain.	—
Sheffield (Hallam) . .	8,561	643	185	—	Gain.
<i>Somerset (East)</i>	9,208	755	199	—	<i>Gain.</i>
Southampton, 1st seat .	13,717	529	296	Gain.	—
Staffordshire (North- West)	14,011	232	303	Gain.	—
Staffordshire (Leek) . .	10,961	363	237	Gain.	—
<i>Staffordshire (Lichfield)</i>	8,768	4	189	<i>Gain.</i>	—
Stalybridge	6,703	346	145	—	Gain.
Stockton	10,422	311	225	Gain.	—
Stockport, 2nd seat . .	10,577	110	228	Gain.	—
Surrey (Kingston) . . .	12,825	743	277	—	Gain.
Sussex, South (East- bourne)	10,029	363	217	Gain.	—
Sussex, East (Rye) . .	11,159	711	241	—	Gain.
Tower Hamlets (Mile End)	5,738	273	124	—	Gain.
Tower Hamlets (Step- ney)	6,069	86	131	Gain.	—
Tynemouth	7,300	338	158	—	Gain.

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conserva- tive or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the in- fluence of the Public- house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Li- censed House caused the Transfer of one vote from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal- Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Li- censed House caused the Transfer of two votes from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal- Unionist Candidate.
Wakefield	5,274	404	114	—	Gain.
Walsall	11,915	237	257	Gain.	—
Warrington	7,906	585	171	—	Gain.
Warwickshire, North- East (Nuneaton) . . .	10,336	641	223	—	Gain.
Wednesbury	11,201	60	242	Gain.	—
Wigan	7,390	110	160	Gain.	—
Wiltshire, North-West (Chippenham)	8,205	229	177	Gain.	—
Wiltshire, South (Wilton)	8,413	407	182	—	Gain.
Worcestershire, <i>Mid.</i> (Droitwich)	9,786	570	211	—	Gain.
Worcestershire, South (Evesham)	9,586	580	207	—	Gain.
York, 1st seat	11,005	230	238	Gain.	—
Yorkshire, North Riding (Richmond)	10,669	159	230	Gain.	—
Yorkshire, East Riding (Holderness)	9,670	465	209	—	Gain.
Yorkshire, East Riding (Howdenshire)	9,499	350	205	Gain.	—
Yorkshire, West Riding (East Ripon)	9,799	611	212	—	Gain.

Name of Constituency.	Registered Number of Electors.	Majority by which the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist was returned.	Estimated Number of "On" Licensed Houses in the Constituency.	What the result would have been had the influence of the Public-house been eliminated.	
				assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of one vote from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.	assuming that each "On" Licensed House caused the Transfer of two votes from the Liberal to the Conservative or Liberal-Unionist Candidate.
SCOTLAND	606,403				
"On" Licensed Premises —7,500					
<i>Ayrshire (North) . . .</i>	12,261	448	152	—	<i>Gain.</i>
<i>Dumfriesshire</i>	9,229	274	114	—	<i>Gain.</i>
<i>Glasgow (Camlachie) .</i>	9,716	371	120	—	<i>Gain.</i>
<i>Glasgow (Tradeston) .</i>	9,666	169	120	<i>Gain.</i>	—
<i>Greenock</i>	6,991	55	86	<i>Gain.</i>	—
<i>Kirkcudbrightshire . .</i>	5,700	31	70	<i>Gain.</i>	—
<i>Lanarkshire (North-West)</i>	11,408	81	141	<i>Gain.</i>	—
<i>Lanarkshire (South) . .</i>	8,818	368	109	—	<i>Gain.</i>
<i>Perthshire (West) . . .</i>	7,966	369	99	—	<i>Gain.</i>
<i>St. Andrew's Burghs .</i>	2,537	112	31	—	<i>Gain.</i>

Number of Liberal seats gained by the transfer of one vote = 72 }
 Number of Liberal seats gained by the transfer of two votes = 59 } 131.

PROHIBITION: SUPPLEMENTARY EVIDENCE.

In the discussion of this subject in an earlier chapter¹ the selection of evidence had somewhat arbitrarily to be determined by the limits of space. In the present chapter an attempt is made to supplement the evidence already given with other important facts, and also to furnish full statistical and other data in support of the conclusions reached.

DENSITY OF POPULATION OF PROHIBITION STATES.

It has already been pointed out as a noteworthy feature of the history of State prohibition, that in every instance where the system has been applied to States containing large urban populations the experiment has resulted in failure, and the system has ultimately been abandoned.²

The following tables, which are compiled from the official census returns, give the density of population of the two sets of States already referred to, (a) in the year in which each State adopted prohibition, and (b) in 1890:—

TABLE I.—PROHIBITION STATES.

State.	No. of Persons per Square Mile.	
	When Prohibition was adopted.	In 1890.
New Hampshire	34	40
Iowa	8	34
Vermont	33	34
Maine	17	20
Kansas	4	17
North Dakota	3	4
Average density (6 States)	16	25

¹ See p. 118.

² It is to be noted, however, that several of the States that have abandoned prohibition as a *State* system have nevertheless made it possible of *local* enactment by substituting the principle of Local Option.

TABLE II.

STATES THAT HAVE TRIED AND ABANDONED PROHIBITION
(i.e. as a *State* system).

State.	No. of Persons per Square Mile.	
	When Prohibition was adopted.	In 1890.
Rhode Island	122	276
Massachusetts	125	269
Connecticut	81	150
Delaware	43	71
Illinois	17	68
Indiana	32	60
Michigan	9	35
Nebraska	0.3	14
South Dakota	4	4
Average (9 States) . .	48	105

Taking, therefore, as the basis of comparison, the years in which prohibition was first adopted in the various States, it will be seen that the average density of population of the States that have *abandoned* prohibition was three times as great as the average density of population of the States that have *continued* prohibition.¹ If we confine the comparison to the four most densely populated States in each of the two divisions, a still more decisive result appears, as the following figures will show:—

	No. of Persons per Square Mile when prohibition was adopted.	No. of Persons per Square Mile in 1890.
1.—States that have <i>continued</i> prohibition.		
Average density of population of four highest States . . .	23	32
2.—States that have <i>abandoned</i> prohibition.		
Average density of population of four highest States . . .	92	191

¹ It is important to notice that while the States that have continued prohibition are, without exception, sparsely populated States, no fewer than six of the nine

Taking, again, the figures for the four States that gave longest trial to the experiment before abandoning it (*i.e.*, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Michigan), and comparing the density of population in each State at the period when prohibition was first adopted with the density of population at the time of its repeal, the following result appears:—

State.	Prohibition adopted.	Prohibition repealed.	No. of Persons per Square Mile when adopted.	No. of Persons per Square Mile when repealed.
	Year.	Year.		
Massachusetts ¹ .	1852	1868	125	170
Rhode Island ² .	1852	1863	122	150
Connecticut . .	1854	1872	81	111
Michigan . . .	1855	1875	9	24

PROPORTION OF URBAN POPULATION.

If we take the proportion of population living in towns of 30,000 inhabitants and upwards, a similar difference appears:—

The following tables give detailed particulars for each State:—

(a) *Prohibition States.*

State.	Proportion of Population Living in Towns of—			
	30,000 inhabitants and upwards.	50,000 inhabitants and upwards.	70,000 inhabitants and upwards.	100,000 inhabitants and upwards.
New Hampshire.	12%	—	—	—
Iowa	6%	3%	—	—
Maine	5%	—	—	—
Kansas	5%	—	—	—
Vermont	—	—	—	—
North Dakota .	—	—	—	—

States that have abandoned prohibition were sparsely populated at the time that they adopted the system.

¹ Re-enacted 1869, repealed 1875.

² Re-adopted 1874, repealed 1875. Re-enacted 1886, repealed 1899.

(b) *States that have Abandoned Prohibition (i.e. as a State system).*

State.	Proportion of Population Living in Towns of—			
	30,000 inhabitants and upwards.	50,000 inhabitants and upwards.	70,000 inhabitants and upwards.	100,000 inhabitants and upwards.
Massachusetts . .	47%	36%	34%	20%
Rhode Island . .	38%	38%	38%	38%
Delaware	37%	37%	—	—
Illinois	31%	28%	28%	28%
Connecticut . . .	25%	18%	11%	—
Nebraska	18%	18%	13%	13%
Michigan	15%	13%	10%	10%
Indiana	10%	7%	5%	5%
South Dakota . .	—	—	—	—

STATISTICS OF DRUNKENNESS.

The following table gives the number of arrests for drunkenness in four of the "cities" or towns of Maine (including Portland, the largest city, and Augusta, the seat of the State Legislature) since 1873. In considering the figures it is to be remembered that, with the exception of a slight break of two years between 1856 and 1858, Maine has been continuously under Prohibition since 1846.

STATE OF MAINE—ARRESTS FOR DRUNKENNESS.

City.	Population.		Period covered by Returns.	Average No. of Arrests per 1000 of Population.
	1880.	1890.		
Portland	33,810	36,425	10 years ended 1873	41
			10 " " 1893	34
Bangor	16,856	19,103	8 ¹ years ended 1874	20
			8 " " 1892	50
Augusta	8,665	10,527	5 ¹ years ended 1874	17
			5 " " 1892	24
Rockland	7,599	8,174	10 years ended 1873	12
			10 " " 1892	19

¹ The longest consecutive period for which returns are available.

If we compare the preceding figures, which refer, it must be remembered, to some of the principal cities in what is universally regarded as the most successful and representative prohibition State, with similar figures, covering the same periods, for London—and the conditions governing the comparison have elsewhere¹ been referred to—a striking result appears. The following are the figures:—

LONDON—ARRESTS FOR DRUNKENNESS.

	Average number of arrests per 1000 of the population.
10 years ended 1873	6.48
10 „ „ 1893	4.81

It will thus be seen that for the ten years ending 1873 the number of arrests for drunkenness in the prohibition city of Portland was more than six times as great as the number for the same period in London; while for the ten years ending in 1893 the number was seven times as great.

If we follow the method of comparison previously adopted² and compare the returns for the prohibition States generally, with similar returns for certain non-prohibition States, the result is still singularly unfavourable to the prohibition areas.

Tables showing the number of arrests per 1,000 of the population for (a) all offences and (b) drunkenness in various prohibition and non-prohibition States in the years 1888-1893:—

¹ See p. 133.

² See p. 123.

I.—PROHIBITION STATES.

State of Maine. Population 1880—648,936 ; 1890—661,086.

Year	Portland Pop. (1890) 36,425		Bangor Pop. (1890) 19,103		Lewiston Pop. (1890) 21,701	
	All Offences Ratio per 1000	Drunk- eness Ratio per 1000	All Offences Ratio per 1000	Drunk- eness Ratio per 1000	All Offences Ratio per 1000	Drunk- eness Ratio per 1000
1888	60.55	38.19	75.24	48.64	No Returns	14.18
1889	53.90	34.05	79.46	48.80		
1890	52.76	33.24	85.06	49.46		
1891	40.84	24.96	86.72	53.59	19.04	11.89
1892	35.43	23.58 ¹	74.17	48.50	18.03	11.89
1893	56.42	39.14	No	Returns	No	Returns
Average	49.98	32.19	80.13	49.79	18.53	13.03

State of Kansas. Population 1880—996,096 ; 1890—1,427,096.

Year	Kansas City Pop. (1890) 38,316		Wichita Pop. (1890) 23,853		Topeka Pop. (1890) 31,007	
	All Offences Ratio per 1000	Drunk- eness Ratio per 1000	All Offences Ratio per 1000	Drunk- eness Ratio per 1000	All Offences Ratio per 1000	Drunk- eness Ratio per 1000
1888	71.76	21.32	No Returns	19.24	43.81	8.29
1889	73.64	18.34			51.47	14.65
1890	62.63	12.13			54.11	12.61
1891	62.89	10.43			49.90	10.70
1892	58.04	12.02			45.71	9.62
1893	46.46	9.28	66.55	19.24	34.92	7.68
Average	62.56	13.89	66.55	19.24	46.65	10.59

State of Iowa. Population 1880—1,624,615 ; 1890—1,911,896.

Year	Des Moines Pop. (1890) 50,093		Sioux City Pop. (1890) 37,806		Dubuque Pop. (1890) 30,311	
	All Offences Ratio per 1000	Drunk- eness Ratio per 1000	All Offences Ratio per 1000	Drunk- eness Ratio per 1000	All Offences Ratio per 1000	Drunk- eness Ratio per 1000
1888	37.84	13.22	No	Returns	30.69	17.69
1889	31.59	11.24	40.99	17.34	23.78	15.19
1890	48.73	19.16	72.02	19.91	25.25	15.14
1891	53.01	18.42	60.50	18.02	28.62	15.45
1892	55.75	18.55	68.02	19.43	27.76	14.64
1893	58.95	18.32	73.39	16.59	24.83	11.81
Average	47.64	16.48	62.98	18.26	26.82	14.99

¹ The Judge of the Municipal Court, Portland, stated that in 1892 the police did not make all the arrests they should have made, and that drunken men went up to the officers and dared them to arrest them.

II.—NON-PROHIBITION STATES.

State of Michigan. Population $\begin{cases} 1880-1,636,937; \\ 1890-2,093,889. \end{cases}$

Year	Detroit Pop. (1890) 205,876		Grand Rapids Pop. (1890) 60,278		Saginaw Pop. (1890) 46,322	
	All Offences Ratio per 1000	Drunk- eness Ratio per 1000	All Offences Ratio per 1000	Drunk- eness Ratio per 1000	All Offences Ratio per 1000	Drunk- eness Ratio per 1000
1888	49.41	20.62	32.46	13.49	48.44	17.57
1889	44.80	17.62	32.43	13.80	39.29	14.19
1890	42.22	17.22	30.77	12.02	56.64	22.94
1891	40.58	13.11	27.37	9.45	46.42	22.76
1892	34.69	10.81	28.07	10.08	41.73	15.07
1893	No	Returns	25.84	9.98	No	Returns
Average	42.34	15.87	29.49	11.47	46.50	18.50

State of Minnesota. Population $\begin{cases} 1880-780,773; \\ 1890-1,301,826. \end{cases}$

Year	Minneapolis Population (1890) 164,738		St. Paul Population (1890) 133,156	
	All Offences Ratio per 1000	Drunkenness Ratio per 1000	All Offences Ratio per 1000	Drunkenness Ratio per 1000
1888	41.30	18.10	55.21	19.09
1889	38.69	16.33	55.15	18.91
1890	31.66	13.19	39.63	15.66
1891	28.85	10.98	38.71	14.38
1892	31.40	12.92	33.80	11.87
1893	31.88	12.51	41.27	12.05
Average	33.96	14.00	43.96	15.32

State of Nebraska. Population $\begin{cases} 1880-452,402; \\ 1890-1,058,910. \end{cases}$

Year	Omaha Population (1890) 140,452		Beatrice Population (1890) 13,836	
	All Offences Ratio per 1000	Drunkenness Ratio per 1000	All Offences Ratio per 1000	Drunkenness Ratio per 1000
1888	104.61	21.36	No	Returns
1889	64.79	15.42	No	Returns
1890	57.76	15.91	5.78	2.68
1891	48.21	10.98	3.39	3.08
1892	40.16	10.38	6.88	2.58
1893	36.10	9.16	2.59	2.07
Average	58.60	13.87	4.66	2.60

NOTE—It should be noted that while the population for 1890 is given above, the ratio of offences has been worked out on the basis of the population in each year.

It may be of interest to supplement the preceding comparison with the statistics of drunkenness for the whole of the County Boroughs (*i.e.*, towns and cities of 50,000 inhabitants and upwards) in England and Wales in 1893. The figures are as follow:—

Number of persons proceeded against
for drunkenness per 1000
of the population.

In 3 Boroughs the ratio was under . . .	1·50
" 6 " " 1·50 and under	2·50
" 23 " " 2·50 "	5·00
" 15 " " 5·00 "	7·50
" 7 " " 7·50 "	10·00
" 6 " " 10·00 "	15·00
" 1 " "	15·32
" 1 " "	25·15
" 1 " "	28·41
<hr/>	
63 Average for all County Boroughs	6·28

That the comparison is not prejudicially affected—so far as Maine especially is concerned—by considerations of stricter police administration in the prohibition States has already been made apparent.¹ It is only necessary to append the following statements to the evidence already given.

The City Marshal of Portland, in the course of his examination before the Royal Canadian Commission in 1893, was asked:—

"I see Marshal Swett, your predecessor in office, in his annual report for 1892, says: 'On my induction to office I was given to understand that it was not the practice to put simple drunks before the court, which I believe to be good policy, and I have adhered to it.' Am I correct in saying that a number of those arrested have been dismissed by the police before being taken before the judge?"—"There is no doubt about it, that there were a large number discharged during the time he was in office."

"Would they be recorded in the number of arrests or not?"—"They are not."

¹ See p. 133.

And again:—

“There is one point on which I desire particularly to be clear. In speaking of the great reduction in the number of arrests last year, you made the observation that you thought that was the result of those arrested being let off without a trial.”—“I think that was the case.”

“In reality, you think that the arrests for drunkenness in 1892 were larger than your report shows?”—“I think they were.”

“Have you any record which shows the number and percentage arrested for drunkenness since you came into office last year?”—“I have not; but I may state that the total number of arrests for drunkenness during the month of May was 112.”

“And in the previous year there only appear to have been 69 for the month of May?”—“That shows that what I stated in the beginning, that all arrests are not recorded, is correct. We have had 112 in the month of May this year, and only 69 for the month of May last year.”

“It is fair to infer, I presume, that the law was not as rigidly enforced previously as it is now, or if it were enforced there would be more arrests?”—“Yes, that is what I want you to infer.”

Asked subsequently how he accounted for the fluctuations in the arrests for drunkenness between 1883 and 1892 he replied:—

“The only reason I can see is that it is accounted for by the enforcement or the non-enforcement of the law.”

“Would the discharge of prisoners arrested for drunkenness before bringing them before the judge have anything to do with it?”—“I think it would.”¹

Another important witness—the Hon. George F. Gould, Judge of the Municipal Court, Portland, gave it as his opinion that during the administration of the previous Marshal, 60 per cent. of the arrests were discharged without being brought

¹ *Evidence of Royal Canadian Commission*, vol. V., pp. 366-368.

before the court, and that prior to that from 60 to 70 per cent. went before the court. In view of the fact already referred to, that "discharges" were not recorded in the number of arrests, the importance of these figures is plain.

INFERIOR QUALITY OF THE LIQUOR SOLD.

In searching for explanations of the apparently wide-spread prevalence of drunkenness in the prohibition towns and cities it is necessary to remember that much of the liquor consumed is of very inferior quality, and so compounded as to quickly produce intoxication. The evidence on this point is decisive.

The City Marshal of Portland, when asked if the sales of liquor in the city were larger or smaller than formerly, said :—

"Well, I think there is less liquor; but the class of goods that is being used now is vile, and it is sold by boys and men who carry a bottle around the streets in their pockets."

"Will you explain to us the system on which this sale is carried on?"—"It is sold by boys and men and women. We have had in our courts boys as young as ten years, who have been convicted of selling liquor from their pocket. They go into yards and alley ways, and hail men in the evening and in the day time, asking them if they do not want a drink. If a man wants a drink, they take their bottle out of their pocket and hand it to the man, and he takes a drink and they take their pay. There are a good many boys at that."

And again :—

"Have you any idea where these people procure the liquor which makes them drunk?"—"As I have stated before, I believe a large portion of it comes from Boston and from the adjoining States."

"Is not a large portion of that liquor sold by these boys you refer to?"—"Boys and men and women sell it. They sell it in barns and alleys and out-houses."

"The trade is made as undesirable as possible under the law?"—"Just as vile as it can be. I had a complaint last

night. Two ladies came to me, and stated that there was a barn in the rear of their house where they believed that this stuff was being sold in the night time."

"And this stuff that is sold in these barns and out-houses is of the vilest description?"—"It is."

"And is more likely to set people drunk and crazy than the liquor that would be procured from the liquor agency or in any legalized place?"—"It is. It is of the poorest quality. The inducement is offered to the vendor to buy the poorest quality, so as to get the largest profit."

The President of the Portland Board of Trade, in his evidence before the Canadian Commission in 1893, said:—

"I do not think it (*i.e.* drunkenness) has decreased. There seems to me to be a great deal of intoxication on the streets."

"You have lived here all your life?"—"Yes."

"Do you think that the amount of drunkenness is more or less than it was ten or fifteen years ago?"—"It seems to me from my observation that the quality of the liquor sold in the city is very bad, and is so bad that it has the effect of making people crazy-drunk very rapidly."

Finally, the President of the Portland Savings Bank, speaking of the operation of the prohibitory law, said:—

"It has had the effect, and I have frequently had my attention called to it, of occasioning the consumption of an immense amount of extremely injurious liquor. I have often been told of the liquor they sell here from pocket flasks, and which they call 'split.' It seems to be made of alcohol and something that colours it. Whether they put fusel oil in it or not I do not know. A man could get pretty drunk with that, and the drunkard's life here is not as long as formerly. I do not think there is any question about that, from the information I have. It is owing to the fact that a much poorer quality of liquor is sold now than before the law was passed. I think I have been able to see myself, as I have been about the city, no decrease in the number of drunken people I meet."¹

¹ *Evidence of the Royal Canadian Commission*, vol. V.

INCREASED CONSUMPTION OF SPIRITS.

Another fact to be noted in explanation of the prevalence of drunkenness is the effect which the prohibitory laws undoubtedly have in increasing the consumption of spirits, instead of beer, on account of their greater portability. The consensus of opinion on this point is practically universal, and, much as the fact itself is to be deplored, it will occasion no surprise to those who are familiar with the history of restrictive legislation in other lands.

Referring to this matter, the "Committee of Fifty" say:—

"The uniform effect of prohibition, under any guise and to any extent, is to increase the sale of whisky, which is more portable, more easily concealed, and more available for illicit traffic."¹

The evidence of Mr. E. L. Fanshawe may also be quoted: "There appears to be good reason for the statement (which *prima facie* seems probable) that prohibition is more readily made effective against malt liquor than against spirits, and that the average quality of the liquor surreptitiously sold under prohibition is inferior. Beer barrels are too bulky to be easily handled where secrecy and concealment are required. The experience of the 'Rum Room' of Portland (Maine), where seized liquor is stored before being destroyed, gives direct evidence of this fact, as also of the low quality of the whisky. There was also evidence that on the repeal

p. 485. Abundance of reliable and independent evidence on this point is forthcoming. In the report of the "Committee of Fifty" it is stated:—

"The 'hard' liquors sold in prohibitory cities is of an inferior quality, producing the quicker and more violent forms of intemperance. The stricter the enforcement the poorer the liquor, which is often nothing but alcohol purchased from druggists and sold, after dilution, under the name of 'split.' Of this article hard drinkers cannot stand half as much as they usually drink."—*The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects*, p. 58.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 316.

of prohibition in Massachusetts a diminution of the trade in distilled spirits ensued, owing to the increased consumption of beer." ¹

DRUNKENNESS INCREASED BY ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAW.

Further, there is a consensus of evidence that attempts at strict enforcement of the law have invariably tended to increase rather than diminish the amount of drunkenness. The Hon. G. P. Westcott, President of the Portland and Rochester Railway Company, and a former Mayor of the city, on being asked to explain the enormous increase in the arrests for drunkenness in 1873-4 (the first year of his mayoralty), said: "We undertook to enforce the law against drunkenness. I said to the sheriff: 'Heretofore the police have enforced the prohibitory law, and now it is made your duty to do so. There shall be no misunderstanding as to enforcing the law. It must be done by the sheriff, and we will give you the whole police department to back you up, and we will undertake to enforce the law against indecency, and [in support of] good morals.' We did that to the best of our ability. The next year the number of arrests was 3,143, of which 1,931 were for drunkenness, and 387 for drunkenness and disturbance, giving a total of 2,318 for these two offences. In that year the law was well enforced. The condition of the city at that time was deplorable. You could not go around the street but you were offended by what you saw and what occurred. During these two years we made a great change in the morals of the city, but the amount of drinking continued about the same."

Similar evidence was given in respect of other towns.

The Hon. A. D. Andrews, Judge of the Municipal Court of Augusta, on being asked whether he attributed the decrease of drunkenness in certain years to the effects of the prohibitory law, said: "No; because in the year in which the law

¹ *Liquor Legislation in the United States and Canada*, p. 45.

was most rigidly enforced, and when it was enforced all that it was possible for the City Marshal and his officers to enforce it, we had twice as many cases of drunkenness as we had at any other time."

Precisely similar evidence was given by an ex-City Marshal of Augusta:—

"During the last two years you were in office, did you do the best you could to keep things quiet and stop any flagrant violation of the law?"—"Yes."

"Was there much drunkenness then?"—"No; I think the drunkenness was less."

"That was when you were not rigidly enforcing the law, and when you kept things quiet?"—"Yes."

"Does the anomaly present itself to you that the rigid enforcement of the law in the city increases drunkenness?"—"That has been my experience."

"Are you a total abstainer yourself?"—"Yes."

"Are you in favour of the prohibitory law?"—"Yes."

"And you voted for the constitutional amendment?"—"Yes, I have always voted for the law."

The Mayor of Bangor, a teetotaler, speaking of a similar experience in that city, said:—

"During the administration of Sheriff Girard there was more drunkenness to be seen on the streets than ever before; because every man who took a drink then took this vile stuff that would make him crazy, and he would lie down at the corners of the street. There was a terrific state of affairs in the town at the time, and the people got tired of the law that was pretended to be carried out, but was not carried out as they claimed. The Sheriff had all he could do to enforce the law at that time, and his deputies had all they could do; but the state of affairs was deplorable."

STATISTICS OF CRIME.

The following tables furnish the full details of the comparisons referred to in an earlier chapter.¹

¹ See p. 136.

NUMBER OF PRISONERS (ALL OFFENCES) IN PROHIBITION AND NON-PROHIBITION
STATES, IN 1880 AND 1890.

STATE.	1880.				1890.				Increase per 1,000 of population.	Decrease per 1,000 of population.	
	Population.	Number of prisoners.	Per 1,000 of population.		Population.	Number of prisoners.	Per 1,000 of population.				
PROHIBITION STATES.											
Kansas	996,096	1,295	1.30		1,427,096	1,928	1.35	0.05			
New Hampshire	346,991	269	0.77		376,530	321	0.85	0.08			
Maine	648,936	405	0.62		661,086	512	0.77	0.15		0.17	
Vermont	332,286	258	0.77		332,422	200	0.60				
Iowa	1,624,615	803	0.49		1,911,896	1,016	0.53	0.04			
	3,948,924	3,030	0.77		4,709,030	3,977	0.84	0.07			
NON-PROHIBITION STATES.											
Rhode Island . .	276,531	317	1.14		345,506	560	1.62	0.48			
Connecticut . .	622,700	718	1.15		746,258	1,026	1.37	0.22		0.13	
Michigan	1,636,937	1,912	1.16		2,093,889	2,155	1.03				
Minnesota . . .	780,773	426	0.54		1,301,826	1,041	0.80	0.26			
Nebraska	452,402	374	0.82		1,058,910	655	0.62			0.20	
	3,769,343	3,747	0.99		5,546,389	5,347	0.98			0.01	

If, again, we classify the criminal statistics, and take the official returns of convicts in penitentiaries,¹ and prisoners in county gaols, the difference between the two sets of States is again very slight.

PROHIBITION STATES.

STATE.	Population.		Convicts in Penitentiaries.				Prisoners in County Gaols.			
	1890.	1880.	1890.		1880.		1890.		1880.	
			Convicts.	Per 1,000 of popn.	Convicts.	Per 1,000 of popn.	Prisoners.	Per 1,000 of popn.	Prisoners.	Per 1,000 of popn.
Maine.	661,086	648,936	170	0.26	213	0.33	302	0.46	185	0.28
New Hampshire .	376,530	346,991	116	0.31	154	0.44	113	0.30	57	0.16
Vermont.	332,422	332,286	91	0.27	143	0.43	30	0.09	45	0.13
Iowa	1,911,896	1,624,615	623	0.33	546	0.34	327	0.17	255	0.16
Kansas	1,427,096	996,096	918	0.64	687	0.69	432	0.30	202	0.20
	4,709,030	3,948,924	1,918	0.40	1,743	0.44	1,204	0.25	744	0.19

¹ The word "penitentiary" is a term employed to denote the institution corresponding to our convict prison, to which the more serious cases are sent.

NON-PROHIBITION STATES.

STATE.	Population.		Convicts in Penitentiaries.				Prisoners in County Gaols.			
	1890.	1880.	1890.		1880.		1890.		1880.	
			Convicts.	Per 1,000 of popn.	Convicts.	Per 1,000 of popn.	Prisoners.	Per 1,000 of popn.	Prisoners.	Per 1,000 of popn.
Rhode Island . . .	345,506	276,531	122	0·35	107	0·39	229	0·66	47	0·17
Connecticut . . .	746,258	622,700	340	0·46	252	0·40	675	0·90	431	0·69
Michigan . . .	2,093,889	1,636,937	1,108	0·53	1,183	0·72	399	0·19	220	0·13
Minnesota . . .	1,301,826	780,773	432	0·33	248	0·32	208	0·16	105	0·13
Nebraska . . .	1,058,910	452,402	391	0·37	256	0·57	219	0·21	78	0·17
	5,546,389	3,769,343	2,393	0·43	2,046	0·54	1,730	0·31	881	0·23

THE SYSTEM OF FINES.

The suggestion that the criminal statistics of the Prohibition States are unduly inflated by liquor offences has already been fully discussed,¹ and it has been shown that so far as the prison statistics are concerned the suggestion is entirely inapplicable, a system of fines rather than of imprisonment being generally adopted in dealing with such cases.

Mr. John Koren, the Special Commissioner appointed by the "Committee of Fifty" to inquire into the working of the Prohibitory Law in Maine, sums up the practice as follows:—

"With regard to the penalties imposed, a great variety is observed in the different counties. Taking only the year 1892, when the law still deprived the courts of all discretion in liquor cases, most of the persons convicted in Androscoggin County were fined from 25 dols. to 200 dols., or imprisonment from one to six months. In Cumberland County the fines ranged from 11 dols. 99 cents to 830 dols. 48 cents, the majority exceeding 200 dols. Most of the indictments were made under the Nuisance Act, and thus the necessity of imposing imprisonment in addition to the fine was obviated. In Kennebec County, fines running considerably lower than in Cumberland were the common punishment. In Knox County the Nuisance Act was taken advantage of, and the average fine placed at 110 dols.

"The same was true of Penobscot, Washington, York, and some other counties. Only in Hancock were the dealers made to suffer both fine and imprisonment. At present imprisonment is rarely resorted to in any county except in default of payment of fines and costs. A disposition unfavourable to imposing the severest penalties of the law is thus manifest. In Maine the rule has been, the more unrelenting the liquor law, the fewer convictions under it. Except in Cumberland

¹ See p. 140.

County, relatively few dealers have gone to gaol from inability to pay fines. Not infrequently wholesale dealers in Boston and elsewhere help them out or aid in defraying the expenses of litigation."

That the practice even of fining is intermittent, there is considerable evidence to show. The late General Neal Dow, referring to the matter in his evidence before the Canadian Commission in 1893, said :—

"I am sorry to say that some of the courts manage these rum cases in a very scandalous way. A man will be convicted, and they will put him on what they call a special docket. The fine will not be imposed upon him, and the penalty of imprisonment will not be imposed upon him, and there will be written at the foot of the docket the word 'continued'; that is, that he is not to be brought forward for punishment without special order from the court. In one case there was a man's name eight times, one under the other. These men promise they will not sell liquor any more, and a judge told me that that was a good way." ¹

¹ See *Evidence of the Royal (Canadian) Commission*, vol. V., p. 453. On this point the following extract from an editorial article in the *Portland Argus* of June 28th, 1895, will be interesting:—

"At the May term of the Supreme Judicial Court for York County (Maine), Clerk Hervey reports the 'disposition' of sixty indictments for liquor-selling. In these sixty cases just six convictions were made, and fines of a hundred dollars and costs imposed. In twenty-four cases 'nol. pros.' was entered on the docket. Twenty-four other cases were 'continued' and some 'filed.' In six cases action was discontinued because the witnesses are dead. In at least two cases occurs the entry 'no such person' against the name of the party accused. We fancy that the York County record is not singular; and that in other counties in Maine, cases have been continued until the witnesses have died—perhaps of old age."

STATISTICS OF PAUPERISM.

The following table, which has been compiled from the official census returns of the United States, gives the ratio of pauperism per 1,000 of the population in the prohibition and non-prohibition States already referred to:¹—

¹ The late General Neal Dow, in referring to the relation of intemperance to pauperism, said: "The overseers of the poor, as we call them here, had an examination of the workhouse some years ago as to the connection between pauperism and intemperance, and they made a written report in which they said that every individual in the workhouse came there directly or indirectly through intemperance, except one, and of that one they could find nothing of his antecedents."

"Do you think that was a correct report?"—"Yes."

"Do you think that was justified by the facts?"—"Yes; that was before the Maine Law."

"Do you think that is the case now?"—"I do not see why it should not be. I believe that poverty generally—not always—but pauperism almost always, comes out of intemperance, directly or indirectly."

A little later he said: "Pauperism would hardly exist at all but for intemperance."

See *Evidence of Royal Canadian Commission*, vol. V., pp. 175-6.

PAUPERISM (ALMSHOUSE).

STATE.	1890.				1880.		
	Population.	Paupers in Almshouses.	Per 1,000 of Population.		Population.	Paupers in Almshouses.	Per 1,000 of Population.
<i>Prohibition States—</i>							
Maine	661,086	1,161	1.76		648,936	1,505	2.32
New Hampshire.	376,530	1,143	3.04		346,991	1,198	3.45
Vermont	332,422	543	1.63		332,286	655	1.97
Iowa	1,911,896	1,621	0.85		1,624,615	1,165	0.72
Kansas	1,427,096	593	0.42		996,096	355	0.36
	4,709,030	5,061	1.07		3,948,924	4,878	1.23
<i>Non-Prohibition States—</i>							
Rhode Island.	345,506	490	1.42		276,531	526	1.90
Connecticut	746,258	1,438	1.93		622,700	1,418	2.28
Michigan	2,093,889	1,916	0.91		1,636,937	1,746	1.07
Minnesota	1,301,826	365	0.28		780,773	227	0.29
Nebraska	1,058,910	291	0.27		452,402	113	0.25
	5,546,389	4,500	0.81		3,769,343	4,030	1.07

That the figures for different States (as also for different countries) are affected by differences in the constitution and economic development of the areas compared is clear. In England and Wales, as the following table will show, the amount of indoor pauperism is greatest in the agricultural districts, and least in the mining districts.

PAUPERISM (WORKHOUSE INSTITUTIONS) IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

REGISTRATION COUNTY.		Population. (1891)	No. of Persons per Square Mile.	Paupers in Workhouse Institutions per 1,000 of Population. (1891)
Agricultural.	Hampshire	666,250	407	6·91
	Norfolk	460,362	228	6·46
	Wiltshire	255,119	201	6·40
	Huntingdonshire	50,289	155	6·20
	Suffolk	353,758	243	5·92
	Cambridge	196,269	222	5·75
	Somersetshire	510,076	307	5·68
	Dorsetshire	188,995	196	4·91
	Warwickshire	801,738	825	6·75
	Lancashire	3,957,906	1938	5·70
Mining.	Staffordshire	1,103,452	921	5·16
	Yorkshire (West Riding)	2,464,415	888	3·29
	Monmouthshire	275,242	447	4·91
	Northumberland	506,030	251	3·95
	Derbyshire	432,414	496	3·76
	Durham	1,024,369	857	3·50
	South Wales ¹	1,050,073	248	3·03
	London	4,211,743	35,998	9·50
	England and Wales	29,002,525	497	6·30

The following table, which has been specially compiled from official statistics, gives a general indication of the economic and industrial condition of the various States included in the preceding comparison. Its relation to the problem of pauperism has already been pointed out:—²

¹ 66 per cent. of the population of South Wales is contained in Glamorganshire, which is populated at the rate of 770 persons per square mile.

² See p. 113.

AGRICULTURE.					MANUFACTURES.					
STATE.	Population, 1890.	Date of Admission into the Union.	Total No. of Farms.	Average Size of Farms.	Number of Manu- facturing Establish- ments. 1	Capital.	Average No. of Employees.	Total Wages.	Value of Products.	Percentage of Population Employed in Manufactures.
<i>Prohibition States.</i>						Dollars.		Dollars.	Dollars.	
Maine . .	661,086	1820	62,013	100	5,010	80,419,809	75,780	26,526,217	95,689,500	11
New Hamp- shire . .	376,530	Original State	29,151	119	3,229	79,375,160	63,361	24,248,054	85,770,549	17
Vermont . .	332,422	1791	32,573	135	3,031	32,763,291	24,894	10,096,549	38,340,066	7
Iowa . . .	1,911,896	1845	201,903	151	7,440	77,513,097	59,174	25,878,997	125,049,183	3
Kansas . .	1,427,096	1861	166,617	181	4,471	43,926,002	32,843	16,328,485	110,219,805	2
<i>Non-Prohibi- tion States.</i>										
Rhode Island. .	345,506	Original State	5,500	85	3,377	126,483,401	85,976	37,927,921	142,500,625	25
Connecticut	746,258	"	26,350	86	6,822	227,004,496	149,939	75,990,606	248,336,364	20
Michigan .	2,093,889	1837	172,344	86	12,127	262,412,240	163,941	66,347,798	277,896,706	8
Minnesota .	1,301,826	1858	116,851	160	7,505	127,686,618	79,629	38,189,239	192,033,478	6
Nebraska .	1,058,910	1867	113,608	190	3,014	37,569,508	23,876	12,984,571	98,037,794	2

¹ Only those establishments which reported a product of \$500 or more in the year are included in this list.

STATISTICS OF INSANITY.

I.—NUMBER OF INSANE.

STATE.	Population.	Total No. of Insane (1890).	Per 1,000 of Population.
<i>Prohibition States—</i>			
Maine	661,086	1,299	1.96
New Hampshire . . .	376,530	960	2.55
Vermont	332,422	823	2.48
Iowa	1,911,896	3,197	1.67
Kansas	1,427,096	1,793	1.25
	4,709,030	8,072	1.71
<i>Non-Prohibition States—</i>			
Rhode Island	345,506	792	2.29
Connecticut	746,258	2,056	2.75
Michigan	2,093,889	3,723	1.77
Minnesota	1,301,826	2,204	1.69
Nebraska	1,058,910	932	0.88
	5,546,389	9,707	1.75
The United States . . .	62,622,250	106,254	1.69

II.—FEEBLE-MINDED.

If, again, we compare the number of feeble-minded persons (*i.e.* idiots) who are not included in the foregoing table, the result is as follows:—

STATE.	Total No. of feeble-minded (1890).	Per 1,000 of Population.
<i>Prohibition States—</i>		
Maine	1,591	2.40
New Hampshire	779	2.07
Vermont	901	2.71
Iowa	3,319	1.74
Kansas	2,039	1.43
	8,629	1.83
<i>Non-Prohibition States—</i>		
Rhode Island	488	1.41
Connecticut	1,208	1.62
Michigan	3,218	1.53
Minnesota	1,451	1.11
Nebraska	959	0.90
	7,324	1.32
The United States	95,571	1.52

FEDERAL RETAIL LIQUOR LICENCES.

A curious fact that arrests attention at the outset of an inquiry into the working of the prohibition laws is the large number of persons who regularly take out United States tax-papers or licences, for the retail sale of liquor. Under the United States law, the Federal Government collects a tax from every person (irrespective of the State laws) who manufactures or deals by wholesale or retail in intoxicating liquors.¹ But, as we have already seen, the only persons who can legally retail liquor in a prohibition State (*e.g.* Maine) are those who are authorised under stringent regulations to do so for medicinal, mechanical, and the like special purposes (*i.e.* the authorised liquor agents whom the authorities may appoint at their discretion). So that the payment of the Federal tax by others than those so appointed would seem to be strong *prima facie* evidence of an intention to violate the prohibitory law. As a matter of fact, the Maine State Law does so regard it. In 1887 an important section was added to the prohibitory law enacting that:—

“The payment of the United States special tax as a liquor-seller, or notice of any kind in any place of resort indicating that intoxicating liquors are there kept, sold, or given away, shall be said to be *prima facie* evidence that the person or persons paying such tax, and the party or parties displaying such notice, are common sellers of intoxicating liquors, and the premises kept by them common nuisances.”

The provision was re-enacted in the Amendment Act of 1890 (approved April 3rd, 1891), section 4 of which provides that “payment of the United States special tax as a liquor-

¹ Retail liquor dealers (*i.e.* in quantities of less than five gallons) pay 25 dols.

Retailers of malt liquor, 20 dols.

Special tax is not to be levied on vintners selling wine of their own growth at manufactory, if they have only one sales' office; nor on apothecaries using wine or spirits for medicinal purposes.

seller shall be held as *prima facie* evidence that the parties are common sellers of intoxicating liquors, and that the premises so kept are common nuisances."

It is therefore not a little strange to find in the face of these explicit statutory declarations that the number of tax-payers in the prohibition States is so large.

The following tables¹ give particulars of the number of "retail liquor dealers," and "retail dealers in malt liquors" taking out Federal tax-papers in the prohibition and non-prohibition States already referred to.

I.—PROHIBITION STATES.

STATE.	Population.	Proportion of Urban population (i.e. in towns of 8,000 and upwards).	No. of Retail Licences.			No. of Retail Licences per 1,000 of population.
			Retail liquor dealers.	Retail dealers in malt liquors.	Total (1892).	
New Hampshire . . .	376,530	28 per cent.	1,669	160	1,829	4.86
Iowa	1,911,896	14 "	4,706	250	4,956	2.59
Kansas	1,427,096	12 "	2,068	432	2,500	1.75
Maine	661,086	20 "	808	214	1,022	1.54
Vermont	332,422	8 "	419	30	449	1.35
Average	941,806	16 per cent.	1,934	217	2,151	2.28

II.—NON-PROHIBITION STATES.

STATE.	Population.	Proportion of Urban population (i.e. in towns of 8,000 and upwards).	No. of Retail Licences.			No. of Retail Licences per 1,000 of population.
			Retail liquor dealers.	Retail dealers in malt liquors.	Total (1892).	
Rhode Island . .	345,506	79 per cent.	1,729	34	1,763	5.11
Connecticut . . .	746,258	52 "	3,172	122	3,294	4.41
Michigan	2,093,889	26 "	8,183	266	8,449	4.03
Minnesota . . .	1,301,826	28 "	3,146	169	3,315	2.54
Nebraska	1,058,910	24 "	2,277	138	2,415	2.28
Average	1,109,278	42 per cent.	3,701	146	3,847	3.47

¹ Compiled from the *Statistical Abstract (United States)*, 1892.

The result of the comparison is certainly noteworthy, and, from a prohibition standpoint, difficult to understand. In the five prohibition States, as will be seen, the average number of retail licences is 2.28 per 1,000 of the population, as against 3.47 per 1,000 in the five non-prohibition States.¹ If, moreover, allowance be made for the fact that the non-prohibition States are to a very large extent manufacturing States, and contain considerably larger urban populations than the prohibition States, the figures become even more strange. It is difficult, indeed, to avoid the conclusion that they point to a widespread and systematic evasion of the prohibitory laws.² This, in point of fact, is almost universally admitted. General Neal Dow, when asked what class of the community took out the licence-papers, replied:—

“The druggists take them out, and those people who want to sell liquors.”

“Are we justified in assuming that the taking out of these licence-permits indicates at least an intention to sell liquor?”

—“Yes, you are justified in saying that.”

“They are evidence of an intention to sell?”—“Yes. The law was changed, at my suggestion, so that the taking out of sale tax-papers was *prima facie* evidence that those who took them out were guilty of a violation of the law.”

¹ The average for the whole of the United States is 3.59 per 1,000.

² “What has been said about the prevalence of liquor-selling in Maine to-day would have held true years ago. Statistics compiled from the reports of the Commissioners of Internal Revenue show that, in proportion to the population, the dealers were numerically about as strong in 1881 as in 1894. The increase of special tax-payers beginning with 1879 is probably due to a better organized revenue service rather than to the general neglect of state officials in enforcing the law. The enthusiastic sentiment in response to which prohibition was made constitutional in 1884 did not have the force to deter more than one thousand men from defying the Constitution by paying the annual liquor tax to the United States Government.”—*The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects*, p. 87.

"Is that the law of this State at the present moment?"—"Yes."

Another witness, the County-Attorney for Penobscot County, was asked:—

"Did I understand you to say that the possession of United States licence tax certificates was *prima facie* evidence that the holder of it procured it for the purpose of selling liquor?"—"It is evidence that he is a common seller of intoxicating liquor."

"Would it be fair for this Commission to assume that, if they obtained a return from the Internal Revenue Department of the United States of the number of these tax certificate holders in the State of Maine, there are so many liquor sellers in the State?"—"I think you would come pretty near the number in that way. Now and then a person takes out a certificate proposing to go into the business, but he does not accomplish his purpose. Before he gets into the business some complication arises, and he does not get in."

"I suppose your druggists all take out these tax certificates?"—"Yes."

"There are others who sell without having these United States tax certificates?"—"Yes."

"Are there many of them?"—"I suppose there are a good many; but the United States revenue officers watch pretty carefully, and it is rather expensive if they are found selling without a United States certificate. As a general thing, the liquor dealers consider that it is safer to pay the tax."

"In your official career, have you ever known a druggist to take a United States licence who did not vend liquors?"—"I think not. When I say that, I should mention that there is one exception, but I have to rely on his own statement for it."

But, serious as the figures are, it may be doubted if they at all adequately represent the numbers of those who deliberately and systematically violate the law. Speaking on this point, Mr. E. L. Fanshawe says:—"Whether a larger number of persons shirk the United States tax in prohibitory

than in other States, is a question to which a decisive answer cannot be given, but the allegation that this is the case would at least seem to be not devoid of probability."

The "decisive answer" is, however, furnished by the Internal Revenue Commissioner's Annual Reports, which furnish particulars of the number of prosecutions entered by district attorneys against persons selling in various States without having paid the Federal tax. By the courtesy of the United States Commissioner of Inland Revenue we are able to give the actual figures for the North Atlantic States for several recent years.

Table showing the number of prosecutions reported by district attorneys as entered against liquor dealers under the Internal Revenue Law of the United States.

STATE.	Popula- tion, 1890.	Number of Prosecutions.							Annual Average per 1,000 of popu- lation.
		1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	
<i>Prohibition—</i>									
Maine	661,086	67	89	86	104	98	54	48	·118
Vermont . . .	332,422	8	11	11	20	21	6	12	·039
New Hampshire	376,530	11	8	9	5	21	8	25	·032
<i>Non-Prohibition—</i>									
Massachusetts .	2,238,943	135	127	257	282	449	199	44	·095
Rhode Island .	345,506	none	3	3	28	none	none	none	·015
New York . . .	5,997,853	46	43	76	30	62	51	42	·009
Connecticut . .	746,258	5	9	19	7	2	none	none	·008
Pennsylvania .	5,258,014	13	26	14	19	28	23	18	·004

It thus appears that the number of prosecutions is higher in Maine (*i.e.* in proportion to population) than in any other of the North Atlantic States, while the proportion generally is higher in the prohibition States than in the non-prohibition States.

That many druggists take out tax-papers is certain, but it is difficult to see why they should do so unless it be for the direct purpose of violating the law, since they do not

require such a licence for the use of alcohol in compounding drugs.¹

That a considerable number of the so-called drug stores are simply liquor saloons in disguise has elsewhere been made clear,² and it is enough to say here that there is little room for doubt that, speaking generally, a large proportion of the persons who hold such certificates are what the law declares them to be—"common sellers of intoxicating liquors." As Judge Gould of the Portland Municipal Court put it: "A man will take his chance of violating the State law, but he will not violate the United States law."

¹ The evidence on this point seems to be decisive. Mr. E. L. Fanshawe, referring to the matter, says:—

"I at first thought that perhaps the keeping of liquor, not for sale as such, but for use in compounding drugs, might render a druggist liable to the tax, though not amenable to the State law. A lawyer in Maine, however, from whom I sought counsel, writes as follows: 'The answer to your question—"For what purpose, requiring payment of United States tax, but not illegal according to State Law, do apothecaries keep intoxicating liquors?"—is that the law of the United States requires persons engaged in the retail liquor business to pay a special tax. Apothecaries who simply use intoxicating liquors for the purpose of compounding medicines are *not* retail liquor dealers under the Statute, and consequently are *not* required to pay the special tax. It is not illegal under the State law for apothecaries to keep liquor for the purpose of compounding medicines. It is only when apothecaries keep liquor for sale *as such* that they must pay the tax or are liable to the penalties of the State law.'"

Mr. Fanshawe himself adds: "I am quite unable to say why apothecaries in Maine (or in any other prohibitory State if they are not permit-holders) should pay the retail liquor tax unless they intend to sell liquor in defiance of the State law."—*Liquor Legislation in the United States and Canada*, p. 44.

² See p. 550.

INEFFICIENCY OF THE LAW.—GENERAL EVIDENCE.

1.—*Seizures of Liquor.*

The evidence given on this point in an earlier chapter, which referred chiefly to the city of Portland, Maine, may be supplemented by evidence concerning other prohibition towns and cities.

Thus, the High Sheriff for Penobscot County, Maine, in giving evidence concerning the number of seizures in Bangor, said :—

“There have been some. They have only been made in cases where the saloon-keepers have been violating the by-law of the city of Bangor. We have made a law among ourselves to shut the liquor sellers up at ten o'clock at night and on Sundays; and since Mr. Gilman, the present City Marshal, came in, he has enforced that pretty well.”

“Have you any seizures of liquor outside of the city of Bangor?”—“Yes.”

“Have you had a large number?”—“Yes, quite a number. We indicted 208 liquor sellers last February, and we held two criminal terms of the court. Last February I had 260 indictments for liquor selling.”

“Where were those liquor-selling places that you proceeded against situated?”—“Most of them were in Bangor. We must have 65 or 75 cases to come up in August. Most of them were for liquor nuisances.”

“Have you any such cases from towns outside of Bangor?”—“Yes, I think out of 262 cases there are 162 of them in the city.”

“That number includes the cases that run over from the previous term?”—“No, those were all new cases. I indicted them again last winter. I have been following them up to indict them.”

“Those offences occurred between the August court and the February court?”—“Yes.”¹

¹ A statement prepared by the Clerk of the Supreme Judicial

An ex-City Marshal of Augusta (the seat of the State Legislature), a total abstainer, and a supporter of prohibition, speaking of his attempts at enforcement in that city, admitted that in a period of six weeks (*i.e.* from June 25th to August 5th) he had seized from the express companies no less than 750 packages of liquor.

Further, to take a final instance, the *Lewiston Journal*, of July 1st, 1893, published a list of 125 seizures of liquors of various kinds made in the cities of Auburn and Lewiston, between March 28th and June 27th, 1893. Those seizures comprised 4,566 gallons of ale and beer, 446 gallons of whisky, 13 gallons of brandy, 57 gallons of rum, 75 gallons of gin, and 281 gallons of alcohol. Nearly the whole of the seizures were made in Lewiston, the entire population of which in 1890 was only 21,701.

The Hon. B. T. Hill, High Sheriff of Androscoggin County, questioned as to the correctness of this list, replied:—

“Generally, it is correct. They have not got down all the liquor, but it is pretty nearly correct.”

Court of Penobscot County, Maine (population, 72,865) for the information of the Canadian Commissioners shows that from 1881 to 1893 the number of liquor cases entered at the court was as follows:—

Year.	Liquor Cases.	Other Cases.	Total.
1881	37	59	96
1882	54	27	81
1883	54	71	125
1884	87	65	152
1885	60	148	208
1886	59	157	216
1887	61	56	117
1888	99	60	159
1889	70	78	148
1890	68	63	131
1891	39	56	95
1892	287	57	344
1893	259	35	294

Taking the whole period it will be seen that the liquor cases represented 57 per cent. of the whole.

"Would we be correct in inferring from that, that there was a large number of persons selling liquor in Lewiston?"

—"I should think there would be."

"And that a large quantity of liquor was being used?"—

"Yes."

"Do you consider that the law was efficiently enforced prior to your being sheriff?"—"I cannot answer that question."

"At the present time do you think there is a large quantity of liquor sold in Lewiston?"—"Not so much as there has been."

"But still there is liquor sold in Lewiston?"—"Oh, certainly. If you had fifty men, you could not stop some of those places selling liquor. The worst places we have had to do with are the kitchen bar-rooms."

"Have you any idea of how many places are selling liquor in Lewiston?"—"I do not know, at the present time, but I should say that there were 250 at one time. They bring in jugs, and dispose of the liquor on Saturday night and on Sunday."

"How many places are selling now?"—"I have no idea."

The witness further declared that since the preceding January (the statement was made on July 5th) he had made over 200 seizures—representing from 10,000 to 12,000 gallons, one-third of which "would be liquors, such as beer and ale and wine." The entire population of the county, it may be mentioned, was less than 49,000 in 1890.

2.—*Drug Stores.*

The part which the so-called "Drug Store" plays in the systematic evasion of the prohibitory law has already been briefly referred to.¹ That the evil is a serious one there is abundant evidence to show. Mr. E. L. Fanshawe, referring to the matter, says:—

¹ See p. 169.

"The apothecary's store is another place where liquor selling is, probably, to no inconsiderable extent still carried on. Apothecaries usually sell syrups, soda water, etc., and it has been a common practice for them to supply whisky. The severity, however, with which the law is now enforced in Portland has done much to check this practice, and in 1892 it was difficult, if not impossible, for a stranger to purchase whisky from an apothecary; but I was repeatedly assured by residents that a considerable sale was still carried on in this way to regular customers. It is certain that the apothecaries, almost without exception, pay the United States special tax on alcoholic liquor, and although it may be argued that this payment need not necessarily involve a violation of the law, it is by the State law made *prima facie* evidence of illegal sale. It shows that the means for violating the law are ready at hand, and it is hard to see for what legitimate purpose the payment can be made, since the mere keeping of alcohol and use of it in compounding medicine would not involve a liability to the tax, and the sale of alcohol, as such, for medicinal purposes is by law restricted to the City Liquor Agency."¹

Judge Gould, of the Portland Municipal Court, questioned on the point by the Canadian Commissioners, said:—

"We have a class of alleged chemists in this city who simply put in their medicine for a blind, for the purpose of selling liquor; and of these we have quite a number. There is one alleged druggist in gaol, serving about a year, but of the legitimate druggists there are very few."

Another witness, the Rev. G. T. Pierson, President of the Portland Temperance Reform Organization, and a strong prohibitionist, was asked:—

"The people in the State of Maine take out a large number of liquor-permits from the United States Government. The last time I looked over the returns I think there were about

¹ *Liquor Legislation in the United States and Canada*, pp. 106, 107.

1,000 in the State. How does it come about that these United States liquor licences are taken out?"

And he replied:—

"I presume that druggists take them out, and I do not know but that most of the hotel-keepers do also."

"Why should chemists take them out?"—"Because they fear the National Government more than they do the local authorities."

"Do you think that the taking out of these licences is an indication of intention to sell liquor?"—"Yes, I do."

"Have you a large number of druggists in Portland in proportion to the population?"—"Yes, a very large number."

Similar evidence was given regarding other towns. The Deputy-Marshall of Lewiston, a town of 21,701 inhabitants, was asked:—

"What about the druggists in Lewiston; do they sell liquor?"—"Most of them do it. I do not believe there are two drug stores in the town that do not sell liquor."

"How many apothecaries have you here?"—"Of good, decent apothecaries, we have six or seven; but there are 150 apothecaries' stores, and not one druggist in most of them. It is liquor they sell."

"If they were genuine druggists, do you think a less number would be sufficient?"—"I think four or five genuine druggists could make a decent living here and a little money out of drugs alone. I have never counted the drug stores here, but there are a good number."

"You think there are 150?"—"There are surely that number. There are four or five drug stores that really make up prescriptions for patients, but some of the others will not make up one prescription in the year, for the good reason that they have no druggist there and cannot do it."

"You are not mixing up regular medical practitioners with apothecaries?"—"I mean men who keep shops, and most of our drug stores in Lewiston keep a little liquor. Some of the decent drug stores, I suppose, get a few bottles of brandy

or wine in case they need it for their prescriptions, and they take out a Federal licence for that. However, most of the drug stores here sell liquor."

The Mayor of Lewiston, in confirming this, said :—

"The chemists and druggists are not allowed to sell. The legitimate drug stores do not sell liquor; that is, I can point to half a dozen or more legitimate business men of reputation who do not sell. What they do is this: every man who wants to sell liquor opens a sort of drug store. He never sells any drugs or any medicines; and if you walk down Lisbon Street, you will see drug store after drug store that never compound any medicines."

"Are they simply liquor shops?"—"That is all."

Practically the same condition of things exists in Augusta, the seat of the State Legislature. Dr. Martin, City Physician and Chairman of the Board of Aldermen, speaking of that city said :—

"I can only speak from my limited experience, but in the city of Augusta undoubtedly every druggist sells liquor, some by the glass, but every one of them, I think, sells liquor without a prescription."

Finally, it is in evidence that in Gardner, a town of 5,000 inhabitants, there are no less than eight drug stores, in addition to at least ten or twelve regular liquor places.

The true significance of the figures given will be seen when it is stated that in the whole of Great Britain there are only 15,250 registered chemists, which, taking the population at 35,650,000 (according to the official estimate it was 35,647,024 in 1898), gives a proportion of one to every 2,334 persons of the population.

3.—*Importations.*

But apart from the evasions of the law already referred to, it is to be admitted that the enforcement of the law is rendered exceedingly difficult by the facilities that exist for the importation of liquor from other States. Mr. W. H.

Greene, an Express proprietor in Portland, who had been engaged in the business of transport for thirty-four years, made the following statement in his evidence before the Canadian Commissioners in 1893:—

“Under our law, which I suppose you are as conversant with as I am, you know that any private individual for his own use has the right to send to any other city to procure liquor. That liquor is to be for his own personal use, and while it is liable to seizure when it reaches here, still if the man makes a declaration that it is for his own use, he can get it out. It is the law that the executive officer of each county has some latitude in reference to that. People send for the liquor, and it comes here. When it reaches here, the sheriffs, if they feel inclined, come into our office, or go to our receptacles on board our steamboats or railroads and make a seizure. Then the owner is obliged to go before the police court here, and under oath declare that that was liquor sent for by him, for the purpose of using it at home. He does not have to declare it was to use for medicinal or mechanical purposes, but for his own individual use; and then ordinarily the judge gives the liquor back to him. It may, perhaps, be detrimental to me to make any statements before this Commission, but I may say that I have never been troubled, nor have we any trouble from the sheriffs to any great extent, for the very reason that I have not been willing to take orders from people for liquor that I thought were not going to make proper use of it. If a man or woman comes in, and says he or she wants a gallon of whisky or a keg of beer, I take their order, and ordinarily in every case I ask if it is for their own personal use. I cannot do any more than that. I comply with the law, and I let them sign an order, and I send away and get the liquor. I find that within the past ten years you cannot place great reliance in almost any one in regard to liquor. Almost any one will lie about it. If they want the liquor for sale they will tell you sometimes that they want it for their own use. They know the law as

well as I do, and they know that if we bring it into the State, knowing that it is for sale, we are liable to the law."

Asked if liquors came in by express to Portland every day, he replied, "Yes."

"Do large quantities come in every day?"—"Do you mean large quantities to any one individual, or in general?"

"In general."—"In general, large quantities of liquor come every day; and previous to holidays, extremely large quantities come in. I have no doubt that next week, on the night of the third of July, it would be no exaggeration to say that we will have forty or fifty packages."

"What is about the quantity of each package?"—"Well, from one to two or three gallons, and malt liquors come in kegs and half-barrels."

"Does a large quantity of wine come in?"—"Not a large quantity."

"Are there many express companies in this city besides your own?"—"Yes; there are four run to Boston."

"How many packages do the five express companies receive generally every day, and bring into the city of Portland?"—"I cannot say for the other companies."

"Well, about how many packages?"—"If they have as many as we, and I think they have more, I should say there would be 100 packages a day come in by express. I think, however, it is but a drop in the bucket to what does come in. I judge that from a question I asked of a man in the liquor business. He was a wholesale liquor seller here a few years ago, at a time when the law was being fully as rigidly enforced as it is now. He used to send his money and pay his bills in Boston, to our agency, and one night he came in with somewhere about 1,000 dollars. While I was counting out the money I said to him: 'I should think these thousands of yours would worry you to death. I would not be in it for any consideration.' He said: 'I do not worry much about it. The getting in of two or three barrels of beer causes me more worry than a whole car-load of whisky.'"

"Is this wholesale drink traffic in Portland carried on the

same as any other wholesale business in the city,—dry goods, for instance,—or is it done secretly?”—“It is done secretly, and has to be done secretly.”

“It is not advertised?”—“Well, no.”

“Do they keep large stocks of liquor, as they do in the wholesale places in Boston?”—“No; I do not think there are any large stocks of liquors in Portland.”

“Is it that the man who is a wholesale dealer takes the orders of people, or small dealers, and furnishes them?”—“Yes.”

It is probably unnecessary to multiply evidence on the point, but the statement of the Sheriff of Cumberland (Portland) County may be quoted:—

“Long-shoremen and those people who use liquor habitually send away for it, and they have it come in in small quantities, a couple of gallons at a time, whilst formerly they went to bar-rooms and saloons. Whether that is beneficial or not, I do not know, but at all events that is the effect. When these people sell liquor unlawfully, they take every means to get it, and they cover up their importing from other States in all sorts of ways. In some cases a number of small packages will come to divers parties, but they will all be intended for the same person. When we get information of that kind of thing, we get out a warrant and seize the whole lot. The result of that is that a good many of these parties cannot say that it is their liquor and that it was intended for their own use.”

“What class of people are those to whom you refer?”—“They are working men of all kinds, and labourers.”

Another witness, an ex-City Marshal of Augusta, who was himself a total abstainer and a supporter of prohibition, in giving the result of his own official experience, said:—

“Some years ago the temperance folks made quite a disturbance here. They came to me and asked me if I could take hold of the enforcement of the law, and I told them that anything they wanted done would be done to the best of my

ability. They had a large gathering in one of our halls, and this matter was all talked over, and I made up my mind that I would see what could be done with regard to the enforcement of the law again. I started in and made just one search and seizure on the next day after the meeting was held. The report went all over the city, and the places that sold liquor shut down, so that when I visited the hotels and other places, I could not find a drop. That went along for two or three months, and it was almost impossible to buy a glass of liquor in the city, but the private packages began to increase, and from the 25th day of June to the 5th day of August I had taken, from the express companies here, 750 different private packages of liquor. . . .

"I took particular pains to keep an account of all the packages that I seized. I seized most of all that came, and they varied from two to five gallons. I made a record of the names on these packages, and found that seventy-five of those who had signed that petition (*i.e.* at the public meeting), to have the law enforced, had also their signatures or names on the private packages of liquor that came in. I thought if that was the way they were going to carry on the business, it was not much use my enforcing the law. So I have been managing the thing since just as well as I possibly could. For the last two years everything has been very quiet in the city of Augusta; we have had very little drunkenness, because we are very vigilant in looking after these places, and if a man is found to sell a good deal of liquor, or too much of it, we give him a search, and try to find some if we can."

Asked if he had reason to believe that fictitious names were put on the packages in the cases to which he had referred, he replied:—

"I do not think that in these cases there was anything of that sort done; I am almost sure there was not. There has been any amount of liquor that I have seized consigned to other parties who know nothing about it, but that was not so in this case. The liquor came in in dry goods boxes, and,

to all appearance, they were dry goods, but inside there were five and eight-gallon kegs. In this particular month I speak of, I do not believe there were any packages examined without there being a genuine name on each package."

THE LIQUOR AGENCY.¹

Some idea of the magnitude of the business done by the State Commissioner can be gathered from the following tables,² which, it should be noted, do not include malt liquors and wines:—

TRANSACTIONS OF THE STATE LIQUOR COMMISSIONER.

TABLE I.

Quantity of Liquor Sold.

Year.	Gallons.	Doz. Pints.	Value.
1887 . . .	8,651 . . .	66 . . .	\$19,872.40
1888 . . .	30,226 . . .	299 . . .	75,915.24
1890 . . .	30,106 . . .	277 . . .	76,388.59
1891 ³ . . .	21,892 . . .	179 . . .	57,974.65
1893 . . .	34,348 . . .	697 . . .	130,812.29

TABLE II.

Kinds and Quantity of Liquor supplied by the State Commissioner to the agencies at

Year.	Portland.		Biddeford.		Lewiston.	
	Whisky. Galls.	Rum. Galls.	Whisky. Galls.	Rum. Galls.	Whisky. Galls.	Rum. Galls.
1887 .	792 .	938 .	690 .	316 .	131 .	173
1888 .	222 .	3,320 .	1,890 .	885 .	397 .	184
1890 .	2,337 .	1,472 .	1,599 .	648 .	1,230 .	801
1891 .	2,628 .	1,406 .	2,076 .	657 .	3,592 .	259
1892 .	7,586 .	5,981 .	4,145 .	1,297 .	1,104 .	325

¹ See p. 174.

² Tables I. and II. are extracted from the Report of the "Committee of Fifty." Table III. from the Report of the Royal Canadian Commissioners, supplemented by later information supplied to the present writers by the President of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Portland, Maine.

³ During seven months of the year. The total sales for 1891 represent \$99,815.

TABLE III.

Table showing particulars of State Commissioner's Sales in 1893 for various towns:—

Town.	Population, ¹ 1890.	Total Value of Sales.	Town.	Population, ¹ 1890.	Total Value of Sales.
Auburn .	11,250	\$9,179	Machias .	—	\$2,215
Augusta .	10,527	5,145	Mt. Vernon .	—	184
Albany .	—	348	Portland .	36,425	48,437
Biddeford .	14,443	19,676	Phillips .	—	979
Bath . .	8,723	3,862	Richmond .	—	3,527
Bangor . .	19,103	8,631	Rangeley .	—	248
Bethel . .	—	850	Rockland .	8,174	2,916
Bucksport .	—	2,832	Randolph .	—	1,204
Fayette .	—	116	Topsfield .	—	6
Greenwood .	—	1,206	Turner . .	—	250
Gardner .	—	3,400	Waterville .	—	5,065
Hartland .	—	813			
Lewiston .	21,701	9,723			\$130,812

SALES AT THE PORTLAND LIQUOR AGENCY SINCE 1870.²

Years.	Total Value of Sales.	Years.	Total Value of Sales.
1870-71	\$3,050·55	1884-85. . . .	\$20,520·31
1871-72	6,677·00	1885-86. . . .	28,974·66
1872-73	19,340·62	1886-87. . . .	22,164·74
1873-74	—	1887-88. . . .	26,133·33
1874-75	—	1888-89. . . .	20,667·89
1875-76	1,748·82	1889-90. . . .	23,770·27
1876-77	6,500·00	1890-91. . . .	22,356·51
1877-78	18,025·00	1891-92. . . .	58,742·76
1878-79	9,786·54	1892-93. . . .	84,848·33
1879-80	—	1893-94. . . .	48,791·75
1880-81	26,850·00	1894-95. . . .	23,167·29
1881-82	—	1895-96. . . .	18,025·00
1882-83	19,615·50	1896-97. . . .	14,387·80
1883-84	20,885·69	1897-98. . . .	12,615·40

¹ The towns for which no particulars of population are given had less than 8,000 inhabitants in 1890.

² In a letter dated March 14th, 1899, Mrs. Stevens (of Portland, Maine), President of the U.S.A. Woman's Christian Temperance Union, to whose courtesy we are indebted for the figures for the last five years, says: "There are times when the drug stores dare to sell more freely than others, and this is true of some of the hotels; so the sales at the agency vary, not so much because of the health or sickness in the city, but because of the lax or strict enforcement of law, whichever it may be."

DEMORALIZING EFFECTS.

Little has been said so far of the demoralizing effect of a systematic violation of the law upon public morals, but it is a matter which can hardly escape the attention of the serious student of the question, not only as regards Maine, but also all the other prohibition States. The mischievous moral effects of an unenforced law are in themselves sufficiently serious to constitute at all times a grave social danger, but in this case the evils have not been confined to a mere contempt for law, but have developed into a callousness of public sentiment, and a corruption of the public service, which are of the gravest possible character.

The Mayor of Portland, speaking in 1893 of the difficulties of enforcement, said :—

“There is this difficulty; there is a great temptation to the policemen, of course, to take bribes, and the men who keep these liquor places can afford to pay something; and I have no doubt that some of the police, at least in times past, I do not know that that is the case now, have taken bribes. There have been times in the past when policemen have taken bribes from men keeping these liquor places. I have no doubt about that.”¹

The Hon. Charles F. Libby, a former Mayor of the city, and an ex-President of the State Senate, who incurred great odium during his term of office by his efforts to enforce the law, in confirming the evidence of his successor, said :—

“It is a matter of history that our sheriffs and police force become corrupted.”

The Right Rev. James A. Healy, Roman Catholic Bishop of Portland, in giving similar evidence, said :—

“I shall finish all that I have to say in this matter by this statement: The intention of those who made such a law, I am not going to question; but it corrupts every set of officers that

¹ *Evidence of the Royal Canadian Commission*, vol. V., p. 383.

has anything to do with it. It is a fruitful school of perjury to all the witnesses who are called upon to testify in these cases; and it degrades the idea of law to the poor people, who say that it is only law to them, and that it is not law to the richer classes. They, therefore, fight it, and evade it in every possible way."

He added :—

"This prohibitory law corrupts the officials from high to low. Every Sheriff and official connected with it, whom I have known, has submitted to bribery in some way; and every officer that I have ever heard of, who was on the force for any length of time, has accepted bribes. I know that the men selling liquor were levied on for bribes; they had to pay so much a week, or so much a month, and that went into the corruption fund." ¹

¹ The following extracts, quoted by Mr. John Koren, are taken from an article published in the Portland *Express* (a Republican Journal), on June 21st, 1894 :—

"It is generally believed that permission to carry on liquor-selling is secured by a regular system of payments to those who have it in their power to practically annihilate the traffic if they are so disposed. The nature and extent of the 'protection' said to be arranged and paid for differs in different cases. Sometimes it is understood that regular payments must also be made 'to the court'; sometimes that they shall not be troubled save when 'outside complaint' is made, of which ample notice must be given, so that the resulting search may do no harm; sometimes that 'fines' will be exacted only when 'the court is short,' to use the technical parlance in such cases; sometimes that, when a public or political exigency requires a seizure, only enough shall be taken to 'make out a case,' the balance of the stock being left undisturbed, and the owner politely advised to 'step round to the court to-morrow and pay 100 dollars.' Sometimes this protection, it is said, is afforded for a certain time of business, beyond which the protected individual is not permitted to go, as that would interfere by way of competition with some other person, who is also said to be paying for 'protection,' and

Similar evidence was offered in respect of other cities.

The Mayor of Biddeford (a town of 15,000 inhabitants) was asked:—"Have the sheriffs been perfectly impartial in the discharge of their duties?" And he replied:—

"I should think not. There is money in it. If you had been at the trotting park yesterday, you would have seen them selling liquor. The Republicans have got control now of our entire force of constables, and rum is just as free in Biddeford as ever it was in the world."

He was further asked:—"If the officers are Republicans, do you think they will favour the Republican liquor dealer and give him a chance to sell, if he belongs to the party?" And he replied:—"That is the general talk, and it is generally understood in that way."

The evidence concerning Lewiston (a town of about 22,000 inhabitants, and the second largest in Maine) is equally definite and serious. The Deputy-Marshall of the city, in the course of his evidence, said:—

"During Mr. Newell's administration (*i.e.* in 1892), we had four deputies, two from the State, and two from the county. I have known these men to go around the streets from one saloon to another, and collect their monthly fees for

demands it from competition as well as from the penalties of the law.

"The regular exaction for 'protection' is said to range from 200 dollars a month down, according to the nature, locality, and extent of the business carried on. Nor is this all. The victims of this system are expected to assist the candidates of their extortioners and blackmailers politically, in caucuses and otherwise, and thus aid in perpetuating the power which oppresses them. They make these regular payments, respond to many irregular demands for money besides, and render other incidental service, because they do not dare to do otherwise.

"Some liquor dealers complain that their profits are cut down by the competition of shops allowed to exist in the vicinity of their own places of business, that the regular collection of protection money may also be made from them."

the protection of the rum sellers. They would take ten or fifteen or twenty dollars, according to the agreement. It was done here in broad daylight."

"Do you mean they accepted bribes to that extent to refrain from prosecuting the sellers?"—"Exactly. They protected those who were engaged in selling liquor; they allowed the liquor to go untouched. It was a dirty piece of business."

The evidence, in short, is irresistible that, excellent as the intention of the law undoubtedly is, it has nevertheless been made the occasion of widespread corruption and misfeasance and in the towns and cities has provoked an active and unscrupulous hostility which has done much to undermine the popular respect for law.

THE DIFFICULTY OF ENFORCING PROHIBITION IN THE TOWNS.

The difficulty of enforcing a policy of prohibition in the towns is freely admitted by witnesses whose sympathies are sincerely attracted to the system.

The Hon. C. H. Boutelle, who described himself as "a strong prohibitionist" and "very much in favour of the prohibition law," after admitting that the law had failed in the larger cities, said:—

"I do not think we can expect to enforce laws of that kind to anything like approximate perfection in large communities."

The City Marshal of Portland, again, in the course of his evidence, was asked:—

"If you had control of the sale of liquor in this city, as chief of police, what would you say would be the better condition of things—the way you have it now, or if you had twenty places under surveillance where you could inspect the liquor and have it analysed?"

And he replied :—

“In answer to that, as I have observed before, I am getting to be more and more in favour every year of something of that sort. I have always been opposed to licence, but my opinion is somewhat doubtful on the subject. I never have yet felt that I could go to the polls to vote to license a man to sell liquor; but as time goes on, and I see the state of things we have under the enforcement of the prohibition law, I feel more and more inclined to do it, if I have an opportunity.”

Mr. B. C. Stone, Clerk of the Judicial Supreme Court of Maine, and a prohibitionist, gave very similar evidence. Questioned as to the result of his observation of the working of the prohibitory law in Portland, he said :—

“I think that the prohibitory law has had a beneficial effect, and that it is far above an unrestricted sale. But it is a question in my mind whether or not high licence would have done fully as well. It is a matter which I have considered quite frankly, though I am free to acknowledge that I have always been a prohibitionist, and I am in favour of restricting the sale of intoxicants. But, however, since I have been connected with the courts, it is a question to my mind whether the prohibitory law has worked as well as a high licence law might have done.”

Another Portland witness, Mr. E. B. Winslow, President of the Board of Trade, in giving his evidence, said :—

“The prohibitory law has been tried for many years, and still the sale of liquor goes on extensively in the city. If the rum shops are closed up at one time there always seems to be some one to take charge of the business, and the rum-selling goes on. I do not wish to say anything against temperance; but I wish for my own part that there was some method for suppressing the sale of liquor. I express to you the opinion that I think we have given the prohibitory law a very fair trial, and it has not succeeded, and I would like to see something else tried.”

That the intention and aim of the original promoters of the law were disinterested and praiseworthy cannot for a moment be doubted; nor is it less certain that the law itself has received, in the rural districts especially, a not inconsiderable body of intelligent and honest support; but, in the face of all the evidence, it is difficult to escape a conviction of the impracticableness of the system where large urban populations are concerned.¹

TESTIMONY OF STATE GOVERNORS.

Attention is sometimes directed to the fact that the Governors of the State, in their inaugural addresses to the State Legislature, have frequently referred in general but eulogistic terms to the benefits of the prohibitory law, and the fact is often quoted as evidence of the success of the prohibitory system throughout the State. The plea would seem to be, on the face of it, a strong one, and it is certainly not one that can lightly be put aside. At the same time, however, an examination of the political circumstances under which such statements are usually made goes far to weaken the force of the plea, and to inspire a distrust of the evidential value of the statements themselves.

It is to be remembered, in the first place, that the Governors are popularly elected officials, nominated and

¹ Mr. C. H. Baker, Secretary of the Portland Overseers of the Poor, and a Prohibitionist, was asked:

"How does the prohibitory law work in the cities?"

And he replied:—

"In the cities it is a different thing. It has always been hard work to enforce the law in the cities."

And again:—

"Do you think that the prohibitory law is efficiently enforced in the city of Portland at present?"—"I think it is as efficiently enforced in the city now as it can be."

"You have no hope, as a prohibitionist, of seeing it better enforced?"—"I have not."

"run" by one or other of the two great political parties, and naturally eager in their public utterances to attract electoral support to their party. It is further to be remembered that in Maine the rural districts—where the prohibition sentiment is admittedly strong, and the prohibitory law, as a general rule, easily enforced—exercise a greatly preponderating electoral influence in the State, inasmuch as they include at least three-fourths of the entire population of the State. It is not difficult, therefore, to see the possible political significance that may easily attach to such statements as have been referred to.¹

Nor do the statements themselves necessarily contradict the contention of the present writers, supported as it is by overwhelming evidence, that the system has failed to meet the requirements of the towns. On the contrary, it is a

¹ "That which most keenly interests the people, though, of course, not all the people, is the regulation or extinction of the liquor traffic. On this neither party has committed or will commit itself. The traditional dogmas of neither cover it, though the Democrats have been rather more disposed to leave men to themselves than the Republicans, and rather less amenable to the influence of ethical sentiment. Practically for both parties the point of consequence is what they can gain or lose. Each has clearly something to lose. The drinking part of the population is chiefly foreign. Now the Irish are mainly Democrats, so the Democratic party dare not offend them. The Germans are mainly Republicans, so the Republicans are equally bound over to caution. It is true that though the parties, as parties, have been, in nearly all States, neutral, most Temperance men are, in the North and West, Republicans, most whisky-men and saloon-keepers Democrats. The Republicans, therefore, more frequently attempt to conciliate the anti-liquor party by flattering phrases. They suffer by the starting of a Prohibitionist candidate, since he draws more voting strength away from them than he does from the Democrats."—Rt. Hon. J. Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, vol. II., pp. 25, 26.

significant fact that in several of the addresses that are constantly referred to the emphasis of the eulogy is specially laid upon the success of the system in the *rural districts*. For example, Governor Dingley, a prominent supporter of prohibition, in his address to the Legislature in 1874, said :—

“Where our prohibitory laws have been well enforced, few will deny that they have accomplished great good. In more than three-fourths of the State, *especially in the rural portions*, public sentiment has secured such an enforcement of these laws that there are now in these districts few open bars ; and even secret sales are so much reduced that drunkenness in the *rural towns* is comparatively rare.”

Governor Robie in his inaugural address in 1883 said :—

“There has undoubtedly been a difference of opinion among good and conscientious citizens in regard to the best mode of eradicating intemperance, but there are few who are unwilling to admit that there has been a wonderful change for the better in public sentiment where the law has been rigidly enforced. In a large part of the State, embracing more than three-fourths of our population [*i.e.* the rural districts] the liquor traffic is practically unknown.”

In a further reference to the subject two years later, Governor Robie said :—

“The present law may, therefore, be considered sufficient to cover all violations of its provisions that can possibly occur, and its weakness seems to be in its non-enforcement by those officers whose duty it is to execute the laws of the State.”

Governor Bodwell, again, in his inaugural address to the Legislature in 1887, said :—

“The situation in the State respecting the law may be briefly and candidly stated. In from three-fourths to four-

fifths of the towns of the State, the law is well enforced and has practically abolished the sale of spirituous and malt liquors as a beverage. In the larger cities and towns, on the seaboard and at railway centres, it has been found more difficult to secure perfect compliance with the law, but it can still be said that at very few points in the State is liquor openly sold."

Governor Burleigh, in the course of his reference to the question in 1889, said:—

"Long experience has demonstrated the wisdom and advantages of this policy. Yet like all other laws against public evils, that against the liquor traffic has its violators, those who wantonly disregard the interests of the community and the authority of the State."

Two years later (*i.e.* in 1891), Governor Burleigh in his inaugural address further said:—

"It cannot be denied that the law for the suppression of the liquor traffic is often violated and that officials charged with its enforcement are frequently derelict in duty. But it is undoubtedly true that this condition of affairs is mostly confined to our *cities and larger villages*."

The Royal Canadian Commissioners in referring to the matter in their Report say:—

"The attention of the undersigned has been called to the inaugural addresses of the Governors of the State to the Legislature, since 1880, which refer to the prohibitory law. In Appendix No. 169 will be found copies of the portions of these addresses which relate to that law. They must, of course, be read as the utterances of public men engaged in party politics in the State. Statistics or other evidence in support of the statements made in regard to the beneficial effects of the law are not supplied, and it is impossible to ignore the fact that there are many other public men taking part in the affairs of the State whose opinions do not agree with those expressed in these addresses."

THE RE-ACTION AGAINST PROHIBITION.

TABLE SHOWING THE VOTES ON CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS IN FAVOUR OF PROHIBITION IN VARIOUS STATES SINCE 1880.

State.	Year	Vote on the Amendment.		Majority for.	Majority against.	Number not voting (i.e. as compared with vote taken at nearest political election in each State).
		For.	Against.			
Kansas	1880	91,874	84,037	7,837		25,325
Iowa	1882	155,436	125,677	29,759		10,935
Ohio ¹	1883	323,189	240,975	82,214		157,146
Maine	1884	70,783	23,811	46,972		47,819
Rhode Island	1886	15,113	9,230	5,883		2,532
Michigan.	1887	178,636	184,281		5,645	17,968
Texas	1887	129,270	220,627		91,357	7,616
Tennessee	1887	117,504	145,197		27,693	41,083
Oregon	1887	19,973	27,858		7,885	7,023
West Virginia.	1888	41,668	76,555		34,887	41,317
New Hampshire	1889	25,786	30,976		5,190	34,160
Massachusetts	1889	85,242	131,062		45,820	128,213
Pennsylvania	1889	296,617	484,644		188,027	216,307
Rhode Island ²	1889	9,956	28,315		18,359	4,840
South Dakota ³	1889	39,509	33,456	6,053		4,862
North Dakota	1889	18,552	17,393	1,159		2,153
Washington	1889	19,546	31,489		11,943	7,408
Connecticut.	1889	22,379	49,974		27,595	81,625
Nebraska.	1890	82,296	111,728		29,432	20,066
Total		1,743,329	2,057,385	179,877	493,933	858,398

¹ Although the majority of votes cast were recorded in favour of the Amendment, it did not receive the majority of possible votes, and hence under the State Constitution could not be adopted.

² This was the submission of the question of repealing prohibition.

³ Repealed in favour of High Licence in 1896.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES.

The following is a list of the principal sources of information to which the student may be referred :—

Reports and Minutes of Evidence of the Royal Canadian Commission, 1892-5. 7 vols. (Government Printing Office, Ottawa.)

The Liquor Problem in its Legislative Aspects. By the "Committee of Fifty," 1897. (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York.)

In 1893 a committee of fifty gentlemen was voluntarily formed in New York for the purpose of investigating the liquor problem in the United States. The members represent thirteen different States, and together constitute a body whose deliberations justly claim a high degree of respect. Its character will be sufficiently indicated by the following selection of names: Bishop E. G. Andrews, Dr. J. S. Billings, President Seth Low, The Hon. Carroll D. Wright (Chief Commissioner of the United States Labour Department), President Charles W. Eliot, Dr. Felix Adler, Dr. E. R. L. Gould (Special Commissioner of the United States Labour Department), Professor R. T. Ely, Professor W. M. Sloane, and Dr. Washington Gladden. The full committee appointed four sub-committees to investigate, respectively, the physiological, the legislative, the economic, and the ethical aspects of the question. The present volume is the first published result of their labours. It is issued, as stated in the preface, "under the authority of the whole Committee of Fifty," and the introduction, which summarises the conclusions reached, is signed by the sub-committee, viz., President Charles W. Eliot, President Seth Low, and Mr. James C. Carter.

Liquor Legislation in the United States and Canada.

Report of a non-partisan inquiry on the spot into the Laws and their Operations, undertaken at the request of Mr. W. Rathbone, M.P., by E. L. Fanshawe, of the Inner Temple, Barrister. 1892. (Cassell & Co., Ltd.)

Sober by Act of Parliament. By F. A. Mackenzie. 1896. (Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd.)

Reports of the Eleventh Census of the United States. 1890. (Government Printing Office, Washington.)

Statistical Abstract of the United States [various years]. (Government Printing Office, Washington.)

The Statistical Year Book of Canada. 1895. (Government Printing Office, Ottawa.)

Parliamentary Returns, e.g., [C.—3224.] 1882; [C.—3477.] 1883; [C.—5563.] 1888; [C.—6276.] 1891; [C.—6670.] 1892; [C.—7415.] 1894; [C.—7988.] 1896. (Eyre & Spottiswoode, London.)

British Consular Report: Maine, 1874.

British Foreign Office Reports (Miscellaneous Series). No. 78 (1888); No. 154 (1890); No. 324 (1894); No. 480 (1898).

Liquor Laws of the United States. 1888. (National Temperance Society, New York.)

Cyclopædia of Temperance and Prohibition. 1891. (Funk & Wagnalls, New York and London.)

The Prohibition Movement.

Papers and Proceedings of the National Convention for the Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, April, 1897. (United Kingdom Alliance, Deansgate, Manchester.)

The Constitutional Prohibitionist. By J. N. Stearns. 1891. (National Temperance Society, New York.)

Prohibition Does Prohibit. By J. N. Stearns. 1894. (National Temperance Society, New York.)

Prohibition: The Principle, the Policy, and the Party. By E. J. Wheeler. Fifth Edition. 1894. (Funk & Wagnalls, New York and London.)

Scandinavian Appendix

METHOD OF EFFECTING LOCAL OPTION IN THE RURAL DISTRICTS OF SWEDEN.

In all parishes in Sweden (town or country) general meetings of taxpayers are held for discussion and decision concerning (a) Church and School matters; (b) Communal matters. The latter alone need be considered here.

All communes (including both towns and country districts called parishes) elect their own local government or representatives. The towns elect a town council, which thereupon becomes the local governing body; while in the country parishes arrangements are undertaken by a Communal Board appointed by a general meeting of taxpayers summoned for that purpose.

In the country districts a system of cumulative voting obtains, the voting qualification of each elector being determined by the amount of income taxed or property owned. In the towns, the voting qualification is also determined by income, but with greater restrictions than obtain in the country districts.

The method of procedure in respect of licensing in the *country districts* is as follows:—A person requiring a licence makes application, in the first instance, to the Communal Board. The application, when presented, is considered by the Communal Board, and, if approved, is then submitted to what is called a Communal General Meeting (*i.e.* a meeting of the local taxpayers). This meeting is summoned by special announcement in the parish church on two successive Sundays previous to the date of the proposed meeting. The agenda to be submitted to such meetings is also required to be publicly read on each occasion when the notice of meeting is given.

Year.	Popula- tion.	Sale of Spirits. Litres.		Sale per Inhabitant.		Gross Profit.	Ex- penses.	Net Profit.	Net Profit per Litre sold.		Selling Price of Brännvin.	Alco- holic strength of Brän- vin.
		In Bar.	At Retail Trade.	Total.	In Bar.	At Retail.			In Bars. öre.	At Retail. öre.		
1866	47,332	260,836	—	—	—	—	129,662	50,783	16·7	—	6	0·95
1867	47,898	362,428	—	—	—	—	170,844	93,791	21·2	—	6	0·95
1868	50,438	393,007	—	—	—	—	175,029	104,089	21	—	6	0·95
1869	52,526	523,393	—	—	—	—	252,625	168,240	27	—	6	0·95
1870	53,822	690,303	—	—	—	—	292,375	196,483	24·3	—	6	0·95
1871	55,110	699,242	—	—	—	—	285,220	191,760	22·7	—	6	0·95
1872	55,986	584,032	—	—	—	—	304,320	206,189	27·1	—	6	0·95
1873	56,909	647,287	—	—	—	—	368,262	257,547	29·4	—	6	0·95
1874	53,307	748,501	—	—	—	—	471,994	217,601	26·7	—	6	0·95
1875	59,986	779,371	—	—	—	—	875,233	209,721	43·6	30·8	6	0·95
1876	61,505	811,225	—	—	—	—	951,265	229,403	43·3	32·3	6	0·95
1877	63,391	891,515	—	—	—	—	952,776	255,211	43·2	32	6	0·95
1878	65,697	894,349	—	—	—	—	874,084	279,991	36·6	27·6	6	0·95
1879	66,844	840,957	—	—	—	—	860,974	253,373	40·6	33·3	6	0·95
1880	68,477	760,676	—	—	—	—	739,496	250,062	38·2	24·8	7	0·95
1881	71,533	724,801	—	—	—	—	849,072	255,723	593,349	30·6	7	0·95
1882	72,555	661,889	—	—	—	—	786,775	248,430	538,345	28·7	7	0·95
1883	77,653	667,899	—	—	—	—	771,042	253,643	517,399	24·2	7	0·95
1884	80,811	691,236	—	—	—	—	812,719	249,719	563,000	25·1	7	0·95
1885	84,450	712,974	—	—	—	—	863,354	247,322	616,032	27	7	0·95
1886	88,230	726,650	—	—	—	—	914,424	251,291	663,133	30	7	0·95
1887	91,396	699,384	—	—	—	—	980,284	262,686	717,598	31·9	7	0·95
1888	94,370	703,678	—	—	—	—	983,593	255,035	728,558	31·3	8	0·95
1889	97,677	634,782	—	—	—	—	955,145	272,914	682,231	28·6	8	0·95
1890	101,502	652,461	—	—	—	—	1,065,707	271,436	794,271	33	8	0·95
1891	104,215	697,151	—	—	—	—	977,124	277,311	699,813	27·8	8	0·95
1892	106,356	628,229	—	—	—	—	975,919	276,284	699,635	33·5	8	0·95
1893	106,959	563,684	—	—	—	—	974,413	272,006	702,407	37·3	8	0·95
1894	108,528	532,732	—	—	—	—	1,022,454	296,631	725,823	57·8	8	0·95
1895	112,670	560,945	—	—	—	—	1,025,274	296,620	728,654	37·1	8	0·95
1896	115,521	570,750	—	—	—	—	1,111,348	293,954	817,394	41·3	8	0·95

At this general meeting, the question of issuing the licence applied for is considered and a vote taken upon the application. This vote is again determined by the graduated system of voting noted above. If this Communal meeting of taxpayers refuses to grant the licence, the application is absolutely disposed of. But if the meeting assents to the application, it goes forward to the Governor of the province, who would probably signify his approval of such application if the applicant were a suitable person. Should the Governor, however, think the application an unsuitable one, he may veto the granting of the licence even although it has been approved by the Communal meeting. It is to be noted, however, that the Governor can in no case reverse the decision of the Communal meeting, if that decision has been unfavourable to the granting of a licence. The veto of the Communal meeting in this sense is absolute.

RELATION OF CONSUMPTION OF SPIRITS TO NATIONAL TASTE.

The rapid growth in the consumption of beer in Sweden might seem at first sight to lend colour to a suggestion recently made that the decline in the consumption of spirits in Gothenburg is due to a change in the national taste from spirituous to fermented drinks, and is not to be attributed to the operations of the Bolag.

It was to be expected that if the sale of beer were left practically free, whilst a series of effective restrictions were placed upon the sale of spirits, the ultimate effect of such a policy would be to stimulate the sale of beer. But a result of this kind is not immediately produced, and an examination of the figures shows that the increase in the national consumption of beer did not take place prior to 1884, by which time a considerable reduction in the consumption of spirits in Gothenburg had been effected.

The following table shows the relative consumption of spirits and beer since 1875:—

Year.	Bar Sale of Spirits in Gothenburg.		Consumption of Beer in Sweden.	
	Litres per Inhabitant.	Decrease.	Litres per Inhabitant.	Increase.
1875-1879	13.28		17.2	
1880-1884	9.51	28 per cent.	17.6	2 per cent.
1885-1889	7.63	20 "	24.1	37 "
1890-1894	5.80	24 "	30.7	27 "
1895	4.98	14 "	35.5	16 "
1896	4.94	1 "	42.4	19 "

It will thus be seen that, taking the period 1875 to 1884, the consumption of beer in Sweden remained all but stationary, while in the same period the bar sales of spirits in Gothenburg show a reduction of 28 per cent. That the reduced consumption of spirits has been accomplished by the operation of the Bolag is further shown by the experience of Norway, where, despite an important reduction in the consumption of spirits following upon the introduction of the Company System, the national consumption of beer is no greater than it was when the system was in its infancy.

PETITION ADDRESSED BY THE CLERGY IN GOTHENBURG AND ITS ENVIRONS TO THE ROYAL GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF GOTHENBURG AND BOHUS (November 25th, 1898).

"We the undersigned, clergymen in active service in and around the town of Gothenburg, having observed with great concern the public annoyance and other evil consequences caused by the beer-houses in the town being kept open on Sundays and holidays, hereby request that the Royal Governor, availing himself of the authority given him by the Royal Statute of October 24th, 1885, Sec. 17, should decide, that in the beer-houses of Gothenburg no beer should be sold on Sundays and holidays, except to persons taking their meals there at the regular hours.

"At the same time we would also submit to your consideration three other points closely connected with the subject of our petition as above made, believing as we do that you

could, by giving your attention to these three points, greatly support the cause of Temperance and morality in the town and its vicinity.

“The first and most important point regards the so-called food licences, as mentioned in section 2 of the above-named Royal Statute. It is an open secret that many holders of licences for selling beer only to persons taking their meals have, contrary to the spirit of the law, made the sale of beer their chief business and the food an accessory only. It would be, therefore, highly desirable that you might, in accordance with section 6, par. 3 of the same Royal Statute, ‘in furtherance of good order,’ issue such regulations as would materially tend to stop this abuse.

“The second point regards the time for closing the beer-houses in the evening. It is most desirable that these places should as a rule be closed at the same time as public-houses, so that the customers of the latter might not when expelled therefrom continue their drinking in the beer-houses.

“Finally, we should recommend as a suitable measure that the present number of beer-licences should be successively reduced, whenever the present holders, owing to death or other causes, cease to use them, *so that eventually all these licences, with the exception of those connected with the serving of food, should come under the control of the Gothenburg Public-house Licensing Company—conducted according to the Gothenburg system.*”

The petition was signed by Bishop Rodhe, Dean Rosell, and thirty clergymen.

STOCKHOLM.

POPULATION (1877–8), 153,528 ; (1896–7), 274,611.

“The motive which led to the adoption of the Company principle in the Capital of Sweden was essentially the same as that which actuated the originators of the joint Company in Gothenburg—to combat the great intemperance among the working-classes.” In Stockholm there were 133 holders of permanent licences who renounced their privileges in con-

sideration of life annuities involving, at the outset, an annual charge of £6,829 6s. This was effected through private arrangement with the individual licensees, the attempt at fixing a uniform rate of compensation having failed. The Company began operations on October 1st, 1877, with a complete monopoly of all the licences for conducting the retail and bar trade of spirituous liquors in the city.

On September 30th, 1877, there were 193 public-houses in Stockholm. The next morning, October 1st, the number was reduced to 67. It is worthy of remark that no protest was made on the part of the classes who thus suddenly found 126 of their customary resorts closed against them.¹

SALES OF SPIRITS IN STOCKHOLM.

Year.	Population.	Total Sale.	Consumption per Inhabitant.		
		Litres.	In Bar Trade. Litres.	At Retail ("Off") Trade. Litres.	Total. Litres.
1877-78	153,528	4,077,590	13·82	12·74	26·56
1878-79	161,722	3,863,529	13·14	10·75	23·89
1879-80	163,040	3,884,456	12·75	11·08	23·83
1880-81	167,868	3,923,180	13·08	10·29	23·37
1881-82	174,702	3,854,068	12·40	9·66	22·06
1882-83	182,358	3,703,591	9·29	11·02	20·31
1883-84	190,842	3,511,420	8·53	9·87	18·40
1884-85	200,781	3,735,619	8·56	10·05	18·61
1885-86	211,139	3,585,376	7·59	9·39	16·98
1886-87	216,807	3,572,830	7·37	9·11	16·48
1887-88	221,551	3,450,121	7·11	8·46	15·57
1888-89	228,118	3,382,135	6·62	8·21	14·83
1889-90	236,350	3,523,137	6·49	8·41	14·90
1890-91	245,331	3,448,075	6·32	7·74	14·06
1891-92	248,051	3,381,766	6·14	7·49	13·63
1892-93	249,246	3,488,825	6·16	7·84	14·00
1893-94	252,937	3,429,468	6·03	7·53	13·56
1894-95	259,304	3,613,155	6·20	7·73	13·93
1895-96	267,100	3,812,715	6·51	7·76	14·27
1896-97	274,611	4,280,961	7·17	8·42	15·59

¹ *Foreign Office Report* (Miscellaneous Series), No. 184. 1890.

ARRESTS FOR DRUNKENNESS IN STOCKHOLM.

Year.	Number of Arrests.	
	Total.	Per 1,000 Inhabitants.
1876-77	7,245	49
1877-78	6,102	40
1878-79	5,883	36
1879-80	6,123	38
1880-81	6,341	38
1881-82	6,784	39
1882-83	6,173	34
1883-84	6,684	35
1884-85	4,796	24
1885-86	5,943	28
1886-87	6,925	32
1887-88	7,536	34
1888-89	7,862	34
1889-90	8,215	35
1890-91	8,350	34
1891-92	8,117	33
1892-93	7,957	32
1893-94	8,024	32
1894-95	8,327	32
1895-96	10,176	38
1896-97	11,848	43

SWEDISH TOWNS POSSESSING SPIRIT BOLAGS IN 1896,
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO POPULATION.

				Total Population.
8 Towns with a population of less than 1,000 . . .				4,977
43	"	"	1,000 and under 5,000 .	105,318
20	"	"	5,000 " 10,000 .	138,279
16	"	"	10,000 " 25,000 .	243,741
3	"	"	25,000 " 100,000 .	117,141
2	"	"	over 100,000	397,210
92	Total population of 92 towns . . .			1,006,666

CONSUMPTION OF BRÄNVIN AND BEER IN SWEDEN.

TABLE SHOWING THE TOTAL AND THE PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF BRÄNVIN AND BEER IN SWEDEN.

BRÄNVIN of 50 per cent. alcohol.			BEER.		
Year.	Total Consumption. Litres. ¹	Litres per head of the Population.	Year.	Total Consumption. Litres. ²	Litres per head of the Population.
1870	43,004,162	10·3	1870	—	11·1
1871	43,927,366	10·5	1871	—	12·1
1872	46,116,737	10·9	1872	—	15·2
1873	50,304,466	11·8	1873	—	16·3
1874	58,464,843	13·5	1874	—	15·1
1875	53,967,336	12·4	1875	—	16·5
1876	54,881,811	12·4	1876	—	15·9
1877	47,584,422	10·6	1877	—	17·0
1878	47,496,297	10·5	1878	—	20·5
1879	40,089,923	8·8	1879	—	16·5
1880	37,204,801	8·1	1880	—	16·3
1881	40,473,043	8·8	1881	—	18·3
1882	36,842,973	8·0	1882	—	15·8
1883	31,121,268	6·8	1883	—	16·8
1884	36,949,848	8·0	1884	—	20·8
1885	39,364,133	8·4	1885	95,200,000	20·3
1886	37,009,697	7·8	1886	104,500,000	22·1
1887	33,275,155	7·0	1887	107,500,000	22·7
1888	35,778,409	7·5	1888	129,000,000	27·2
1889	29,612,823	6·2	1889	134,500,000	28·2
1890	33,478,019	7·0	1890	131,000,000	27·4
1891	31,018,505	6·4	1891	148,000,000	30·9
1892	31,300,930	6·5	1892	148,000,000	30·8
1893	32,150,388	6·7	1893	152,500,000	31·6
1894	33,274,581	6·9	1894	161,000,000	33·0
1895	33,458,088	6·9	1895	174,500,000	35·5
1896	35,584,088	7·2	1896	210,400,000	42·4
1897	37,100,000	7·5			

¹ Dr. Sigfrid Wieselgren, *La Lutte contre L'Alcoolisme en Suède*, p. 29.

² The statistics of Beer Consumption, 1870 to 1884, are based upon a table given by Mr. Koren in his Report to the Massachusetts Legislature. The figures from 1885 are taken from the Board of Trade Return—No. 408, 1897,

CONSUMPTION OF BRÄNVIN AND BEER IN NORWAY.

TABLE SHOWING THE TOTAL AND THE PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF BRÄNVIN AND BEER IN NORWAY, 1871-1897¹:—

BRÄNVIN of 50 per cent. alcohol.			BEER.		
Year.	Total Consumption. Litres.	Litres per head of the Population.	Year.	Total Consumption. Litres.	Litres per head of the Population.
1871	9,306,000	5.3	1871	21,426,100	12.3
1872	7,921,000	4.5	1872	22,868,900	13.0
1873	9,394,000	5.3	1873	28,448,100	16.1
1874	11,849,000	6.6	1874	33,922,900	19.0
1875	11,842,000	6.5	1875	41,926,900	23.2
1876	12,268,000	6.7	1876	38,703,100	21.1
1877	11,067,000	6.0	1877	39,573,500	21.4
1878	8,472,000	4.5	1878	38,947,700	20.7
1879	6,192,000	3.3	1879	38,242,400	20.1
1880	7,462,000	3.9	1880	29,143,600	15.3
1881	5,803,000	3.0	1881	31,068,800	16.1
1882	7,240,000	3.8	1882	30,946,800	16.2
1883	6,357,000	3.3	1883	33,803,000	17.7
1884	6,692,000	3.5	1884	32,573,000	16.9
1885	6,840,000	3.5	1885	33,203,100	17.1
1886	5,905,000	3.0	1886	26,366,900	13.5
1887	5,569,000	2.8	1887	26,128,900	13.3
1888	6,023,000	3.1	1888	30,631,900	15.5
1889	6,338,000	3.2	1889	30,849,200	15.5
1890	6,156,000	3.1	1890	37,327,400	18.8
1891	7,328,000	3.7	1891	43,206,100	21.7
1892	6,438,000	3.2	1892	41,374,500	20.6
1893	7,142,000	3.5	1893	41,995,000	20.8
1894	7,628,000	3.8	1894	40,215,900	19.8
1895	7,111,000	3.5	1895	36,269,300	17.7
1896	4,827,000	2.3	1896	33,671,600	16.2
1897	4,637,000	2.2	1897	37,600,000	17.8
1898	5,566,000	2.6	1898	46,217,400	21.6

¹ *Journal du Bureau Central de Statistique du Royaume de Norvège.* No. 3, 1898, pp. 53 and 56

The estimates of the consumption of bränvin in the table given on an earlier page (see p. 298) for the years 1833 and 1843 are taken from a pamphlet by Mr. Stang Conradi. They are not questioned by the Norwegian Statistical Bureau, and may be accepted as approximately correct. The official statistics of the consumption of bränvin do not give the *yearly* figures until 1871. The statistics of the consumption of beer are taken from the journal of the Norwegian Bureau of Statistics, 1898. The same journal adds a note to the effect that the figures for the consumption of beer are worked out upon the supposition that the total production consisted of so-called "Bavarian Beer," which contains (according to analyses undertaken in 1896 for Christiania) an average of 3·7 per cent. of alcohol. As part of the beer brewed is of a lighter kind, the figures of consumption ought to be somewhat increased.

CONSUMPTION OF ABSOLUTE ALCOHOL IN NORWAY.

The Norwegian Statistical Bureau gives the following table of the total *per capita* consumption of absolute alcohol (in spirits, wine, beer, etc.) in Norway, 1833-1898¹:

		Litres.			Litres.
1833	Estimated . . .	8·5	1886-90	Actual . . .	2·2
1843	do. . . .	5·5	1891	do. . . .	2·8
1851-55	Actual . . .	3·6	1892	do. . . .	2·5
1856-60	do. . . .	3·2	1893	do. . . .	2·6
1861-65	do. . . .	2·7	1894	do. . . .	2·7
1866-70	do. . . .	2·9	1895	do. . . .	2·5
1871-75	do. . . .	3·6	1896	do. . . .	2·1
1876-80	do. . . .	3·3	1897	do. . . .	2·2
1881-85	do. . . .	2·4	1898	do. . . .	2·3

¹ *Journal du Bureau Central de Statistique du Royaume de Norvège.* No. 9, 1898, p. 216.

SHARE CAPITAL OF THE SCANDINAVIAN COMPANIES.¹

In both Sweden and Norway the capital stock of the Spirit Companies is exceedingly small. Thus in Norway in 1892 (when the number of companies had reached its maximum of 51) the total paid-up capital of the 51 companies was under £33,000. The largest amount of capital invested in any one company was £8,871 in Stockholm; the smallest was £34 in Langesund. The paid-up capital of the Christiania company is £8,805, and that of Gothenburg £5,641. The smallness of the capital is very largely accounted for by the fact that the companies give no credit, and rent almost the whole of their licensed premises. Thus the Gothenburg Bolag owns only 2 of its licensed houses, the Stockholm Bolag 3, and the Bergen Samlag 3, while the Christiania Samlag does not own any of its licensed houses.

TABLE SHOWING THE NET PROFITS OF THE SWEDISH BOLAGS, AND ALSO THE SUMS PAID BY THEM TO THE MUNICIPALITIES FOR THE LICENCES.²

Year.	Number of Companies.	Net Profits of Bolags.	Additional sums paid to the Municipalities for Licences.
		£	£
1890-91	88	234,260	98,698
1891-92	89	260,634	100,746
1892-93	87	294,469	99,461
1893-94	89	317,670	100,578
1894-95	91	316,751	101,205
1895-96	93	368,181	102,601
1896-97	92	463,814	59,280

¹ Dr. Gould, *Fifth Special Report of the Commission of Labour*, p. 202; and Dr. Gould, *Popular Control of the Liquor Traffic*, p. 13.

² Swedish Official Statistics, 1896, 1897.

TABLE SHOWING THE NET PROFITS OF THE NORWEGIAN SAMLAGS, AND ALSO THE SUMS PAID BY THEM TO THE MUNICIPALITIES FOR LICENCE RIGHTS.¹

Year.	Number of Companies.	Net Profits of Bolags.	Additional sums paid to the Municipalities for Licence rights. ²
		£	£
1890	50	76,925	21,393
1891	50	84,117	22,533
1892	51	88,411	23,786
1893	51	85,717	25,059
1894	51	91,756	24,726
1895	51	98,180	25,419
1896	38 ³	64,082	30,888

RELATION OF DEPRESSED ECONOMIC CONDITIONS TO REDUCED CONSUMPTION OF SPIRITS IN NORWAY.

It appears clear from an examination of official returns that the diminution in the consumption of spirits in Norway subsequent to 1876-7 is not to be attributed, except to a limited extent, to depressed economic conditions. For such conditions, it will be obvious, would affect not one commodity only, but *pari passu* all articles of consumption coming within the same economic category. Now an analysis of the statistics of consumption of certain commodities (*i.e.* non-necessaries) usually most susceptible to the pressure of economic conditions reveals a startling discrepancy between the alleged cause and the actual result.

The results, indeed, instead of being, as might reasonably be expected, at least approximately uniform, are so manifestly disproportionate as to compel the conviction that, so far as the consumption of spirits is concerned, a much more

¹ *Journal du Bureau Central de Statistique du Royaume de Norvège.* No. 9, 1898, p. 224.

² The Norwegian Municipalities based the charge for Licence rights upon probable sales.

³ The number of Samlags in operation was 40, but returns were not to hand for two of the smaller ones.

powerful factor has been at work. Taking as the basis of our comparison the years 1878-80, when the economic depression is said to have been at its worst, and comparing the consumption of tobacco, coffee, sugar, and brandy, the following result appears:—

Articles.		Consumption in Norway per head of the Population. ¹			
		1876	1878-1880	Increase.	Decrease.
Tobacco	Kilog. . .	1·21	1·12		7½%
Coffee	"	3·92	3·57		9%
Sugar	"	4·98	4·57		8%
Spirits	Litres . .	6·70	3·86		42½%

That is to say, while the *per capita* consumption of tobacco, coffee, and sugar had decreased 7½ per cent., 9 per cent., and 8 per cent. respectively, the *per capita* consumption of spirits had, in the same period, and concurrently with the establishment of the controlling system, decreased *no less than* 42·4 per cent.

If, moreover, we compare 1876 with 1880 an even more striking result appears:—

Articles.		Consumption in Norway per head of the Population.			
		1876	1880	Increase.	Decrease.
Tobacco	Kilog. . .	1·21	1·28	6%	
Coffee	"	3·92	3·73		5%
Sugar	"	4·98	4·53		9%
Spirits	Litres . .	6·70	3·90		42%

That is to say, while the consumption of spirits had *decreased* by 42 per cent., the consumption of tobacco had actually *increased* by 6 per cent.

The particulars are more fully shown in the annexed table, which gives the consumption of the various commodities over a series of years.

¹ The *per capita* consumption of tobacco, coffee, and sugar is based upon the official statistics of imports.

TABLE SHOWING THE PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF VARIOUS COMMODITIES IN NORWAY IN THE YEARS 1876-1892.

Articles.	Consumption per Head of the Population.																
	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892
Tobacco Kilog.	1.21	1.20	1.04	1.06	1.28	1.00	0.89	0.91	0.99	1.02	0.93	0.85	0.78	0.93	0.86	0.94	0.94
Coffee "	3.92	3.96	3.22	3.77	3.73	3.95	3.63	4.14	3.83	4.03	4.46	2.67	4.01	3.88	4.04	3.97	4.01
Sugar: Raw Kilog.	2.48	3.04	2.40	2.76	2.48	2.65	3.02	3.28	3.62	2.69	3.60	3.15	3.64	4.28	4.45	5.44	5.83
" Refined Kilog.	2.50	2.69	2.12	1.92	2.05	2.23	2.28	2.40	3.07	2.06	2.49	2.37	2.67	2.56	3.02	2.53	2.48
Spirits (50% alcohol) Litres	6.70	6.00	4.50	3.20	3.90	3.00	3.70	3.30	3.40	3.50	3.00	2.80	3.10	3.20	3.10	3.70	3.20
Proportion of the national sales of brandy made by the Sam-lags . . .	8.3	14.8	22.2	24.5	21.0	30.1	25.5	34.1	34.1	32.1	41.4	43.2	40.1	41.8	49.1	42.9	51.3

The conclusion is therefore irresistible that, whatever effect economic conditions may have had in reducing the consumption of spirits in Norway, they are utterly inadequate in themselves to account for more than a very small proportion of the reduction that actually took place. Had it been possible to deal exclusively with the consumption of spirits represented by the Samlag sales, instead of with the national consumption, the result would have been still more striking.

It is true that in 1876, when the consumption of spirits was 6·7 litres per head of the population, wages were abnormally high; but the normal wages for skilled labourers in 1892, when the consumption of spirits had fallen to 3·2 litres per head of the population, were fully equal to the abnormal wages of 1876, while the wages of day-labourers on roads, railways, and public works were about 5 per cent. higher in 1892 than in 1876, and the wages of servants under half-yearly contracts, both in urban and rural districts, from a quarter to a third higher; and yet, notwithstanding this, the *per capita* consumption of spirits had declined by no less than 52 per cent. It is impossible, therefore, to escape the conclusion that we must look elsewhere than to economic conditions to find the true explanation of the remarkable reduction in the consumption of spirits that has taken place in Norway since 1876.

THE GROWTH AND INFLUENCE OF THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT IN NORWAY.

“In 1859 the first modern Total Abstinence Society in Norway was formed at Stavanger. Like most of the movements brought us from practical England, it first took hold of the lower classes, who did not theorize whether Total Abstinence or moderation was the more ideal thing *per se*, but who saw that Total Abstinence was the only practical remedy for saving drunkards, as well as the only solid basis of a thorough Temperance reform. After the introduction of the Total Abstinence movement the union against

brandy drinking ¹ died away slowly but surely, though it was supported by the Government, which contributed from 1844 to 1869 a little over 120,000 kroner to this union. Up to 1870 the Total Abstinence societies had not enrolled more than 2,000 members.” ² The Good Templar Order began its operations in Norway in 1877, the Blue Ribbon Army in 1879, and the World’s Women’s Christian Temperance Union in 1890. In 1893 the Good Templars of Norway numbered about 11,000 members.

The following figures give particulars of the number of branches and returns of membership of the Norwegian Abstinence Society—the parent Society in Norway:—

Year.	Norwegian Abstinence Society. (Established 1859.)	
	Number of Branches.	Total number of Members.
1876	59	8,000
1877	67	9,000
1878	52	7,000
1879	65	No statistics
1880 ³	99	"
1881	163	"
1882	250	"
1883	328	35,000
1884	480	45,000
1885	579	60,000
1886	605	70,000
1887	643	83,000
1888	720	90,000
1889	801	95,000
1890	843	98,000
1891	853	100,000

¹ The form of organized Temperance effort in the early days of the movement when beer was regarded as a Temperance drink.

² Mr. Lars O. Jensen, Right Worthy Grand Templar for Norway.

³ The statistics from 1880 include women and children, although the numbers of these were not stated separately until 1889. In 1889 there were 34,000 women and 6,000 children included in the membership; in 1890, 41,300 women and 15,000 children; and in 1891, 43,000 women and 15,000 children.

It has occasionally been suggested that the great reduction in the consumption of spirits in the towns of Norway and Sweden has been due to the effect of Temperance societies rather than to the action of the companies. A suggestion of this kind indicates a want of perception of the special work and value of the Temperance organizations. Nothing can be more unwise than to place them in any position of rivalry or opposition to the companies. In Norway, as elsewhere, it is the union of the strong personal appeal with well-considered national arrangements that leads to lasting results.

As was said on an earlier page, the great reduction in the consumption of spirits in Sweden and Norway has "been brought about by the joint action of Temperance effort and of wise national legislation; the former could have done little without the latter, and, in both Sweden and Norway, its main service has been in creating the public opinion which was essential alike for the enactment, the enforcement, and the progressive improvement of wise and strong public law." Temperance teaching and effort made the abolition of free distillation possible, but if the public opinion created by the Temperance teaching had not been embodied in law, the domestic stills would soon have reappeared.

The enormous reduction in the consumption of spirits in Bergen in the first year of its controlling company, as compared with the last year under private sale, was unquestionably due to the company. But its continued success has been due to the way in which Temperance thought has supported the policy of the Samlag, and so helped to create a public opinion favourable to Temperance, which has made the people of the town willing to submit to the restrictive policy of the Company. If any one imagines that the great reduction in consumption in the early years of the Gothenburg or Bergen Company was mainly due to the direct action of Temperance societies (as apart from the influence of the controlling companies) an examination of the numbers of the Temperance societies in the years in question would dispose of the idea.

BERGEN.

STATISTICS OF THE BERGEN SPIRIT SAMLAG. 1877-1897

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Year.	Estimated Population.	Sale of Spirits. Litres.			Sale per inhabitant. Litres.		Arrests for Drunkenness.	
		Sale below 40 Litres.		Total.	In Bars.	At Retail.	Number of Arrests.	Per 1,000 of the Population.
		In Bar.	At Retail ("Off") Trade.					
1877	40,760	99,967	172,357	282,063	2.45	4.20	1,013	24.9
1878	41,512	87,798	143,454	240,539	2.11	3.46	883	21.3
1879	42,230	71,247	137,722	214,551	1.68	3.26	820	19.4
1880	43,062	66,126	139,126	210,144	1.53	3.23	901	20.9
1881	43,858	71,017	150,703	231,118	1.61	3.44	738	16.8
1882	44,669	73,407	154,896	236,463	1.64	3.47	596	13.3
1883	45,493	74,519	158,219	239,631	1.63	3.48	838	18.4
1884	46,332	77,461	163,570	248,471	1.67	3.53	708	15.3
1885	47,995	79,227	157,008	238,147	1.68	3.27	807	16.9
1886	48,335	81,034	157,435	239,519	1.67	3.26	701	14.5
1887	49,623	82,260	158,669	241,734	1.65	3.20	685	13.8
1888	50,902	80,031	157,388	238,398	1.57	3.09	728	14.3
1889	52,252	81,656	171,736	254,487	1.56	3.29	729	13.9
1890	53,686	84,077	197,356	282,907	1.56	3.68	1,122	20.9
1891	55,650	91,891	221,672	314,952	1.65	3.98	1,047	18.8
1892	56,900	95,965	236,860	334,123	1.69	4.16	690 ¹	12.1
1893	58,000	92,830	244,600	338,485	1.60	4.22	815	14.1
1894	59,700	86,952	232,227	319,719	1.46	3.89	948	15.9
1895	62,400	83,978	216,627	301,951	1.35	3.47	1,381	22.1
1896	64,000	65,462	222,063	294,025	1.02	3.47	1,866	29.1
1897	65,500	65,108	272,715	351,059	.99	4.16	1,789	27.3

¹ The number of arrests for drunkenness is taken from the Annual Report of the Bergen Samlag for 1897. As the figures for the years 1892 to 1896 differ greatly from others which have been published in this country (see those given at p. 114 of

OPINIONS OF INFLUENTIAL AND RESPONSIBLE
CITIZENS OF BERGEN RESPECTING ITS
CONTROLLING SOCIETY.

A few years back, the late Mr. T. M. Wilson addressed the following inquiries to a number of the most representative men in Bergen, including, among others, the Governor of the Province, the Mayor of Bergen, Members of Parliament, the Chief of the Police, the British, French, German, and American Consuls, the Bishop and Clergy of the City, etc., etc. :—

- (1) Is it your opinion that the operations of the society for controlling the retail sale of ardent spirits in Bergen have been of benefit to the city and its population, and that they have in any degree contributed to promote the movement against the intemperate use of intoxicating liquors?
- (2) Is it your opinion that the objects of public utility supported out of the surplus profits of the society for controlling the retail sale of ardent spirits in Bergen act in any considerable degree in elevating and raising the culture of the masses?

Mr. Wilson received in reply a remarkable series of letters, a few of which are subjoined.

From the Chief of Police :—

“In reply to the above questions, I have to state that the police officials are, from their official experience, enabled to bear testimony in the very strongest terms to the efficiency of the control exercised by the society, and to its great value, directly and indirectly, in promoting sobriety and improving the drinking habits of the people. A large part of the drunkenness now existing is due to the uncontrolled sale of wines and beer, and until those are controlled in the same manner as spirits, it cannot be expected that drunkenness will be entirely eradicated in Bergen. The subject of the second question admits of no two opinions.”

From the Bishop of Bergen :—

Question 1. "Yes, I consider it to be perfectly certain. Complaints have certainly been heard of late of increasing abuse of strong drink by the youth of the town, but it is always added that it is due to the consumption of Bavarian beer. The society has, so far as I am aware, no connection therewith."

Question 2. "Yes, that I am perfectly convinced of."

From the Public Prosecutor of Bergen :—

Question 1. "Yes. As special means for restricting the drink evil may be named: (1) that no sales are made on credit; (2) that spirits are not sold at the bars to minors, or to intoxicated persons, and that there is no opportunity of sitting down to enjoy spirituous drinks, the customer being compelled to consume his liquor and go; and (3) that the Bergen society has also carried out a system of limiting the hours of sale, especially in the winter, and on the evenings before holy festivals, which goes much farther than the requirements of the law. Nothing of that is imaginable if the spirit trade were free."

Question 2. "Unconditionally in the affirmative."

From the British Consul :—

Question 1. "Although I have made no special study of the drink question, it seems to me self-evident that the town and its population has benefited considerably by the operations of the society for the retailing of ardent spirits, and that the society has contributed in no small degree towards the prevention of excessive drinking."

Question 2. "The advantages to the people from the support given to various institutions out of the society's profits are apparent and unquestionable."

From the German Consul :—

Question 1. "Unconditionally yes."

Question 2. "Yes ; but I think that total abstinence is directly assisted on too small a scale out of the society's profits."

From the American Consul :—

Question 1. "Perfectly certainly, yes. It is also certain that the strict control exercised by the society, and the perfect order it maintains, have contributed in an especial degree to limit the drink evil."

Question 2. "Can only be answered affirmatively."

Finally, the opinion of Mr. Wilson, formed after more than thirty years' residence in Bergen, may be quoted as the deliberate pronouncement of a competent observer who at first—owing to fears which he tells us were subsequently dispelled by a close observation of the society's operations—was opposed to the introduction of the company system. Summing up, nearly twenty years later, the result of his investigations, he says: "In an English work before us the author says, speaking of Bergen, 'we did not see a single drunken person, a single beggar, or any one in rags.' He had not such an intimate experience of Bergen as we have, or he would have qualified his statement a little ; but still there is a world of truth in what he has said in the words quoted. There is, really, not a tithe of the wretchedness, squalid misery and poverty, drunkenness and beggary, so prevalent in English towns of similar size : that the difference is due, to no small extent, to the fact that in Bergen the sale of ardent spirits is strictly controlled, while in the English towns it is not, is indubitable ; and it is a fact that quickly impresses itself on the minds of those who know the peoples and circumstances of both countries intimately."

**NORWEGIAN TOWNS WHICH HAVE VOTED UPON THE RETENTION OR
SUPPRESSION OF SAMLAGS IN 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, AND 1899.**

	Number of possible Votes. ¹	Number of Votes for Samlag.	Number of Votes against Samlag.	Number of Towns in which Samlag has been	
				Retained.	Suppressed. ²
1895—Bodo (retained) . . .	1,814	1,217	597	2	11
Vadso „ . . .	649	534	115		
Gjovik (suppressed)	800	328	472		
Aasgaardstrand „	210	69	141		
Tonsberg „	3,654	1,685	1,969		
Brevik „	1,088	522	566		
Skien „	4,249	1,696	2,553		
Risor „	1,616	549	1,067		
Arendal „	2,073	787	1,286		
Grimstad „	1,476	602	874		
Aalesund „	4,359	1,137	3,222		
Molde „	838	322	516		
Namsos „	965	234	731		
Vote taken in 13 towns	23,791	9,682	14,109		
1896—Drobak (retained) .	1,094	757	337	4	5
Kongsvinger „ .	606	539	67		
Bergen „ .	28,762	14,590	14,172		
Mosjoen „ .	619	317	302		
Lillesand (suppressed)	720	250	470		
Farsund „	857	377	480		
Sogndal „	213	98	115		
Stavanger „	11,756	4,234	7,522		
Levanger „	570	275	295		
Vote taken in 9 towns	45,197	21,437	23,760		
1897—Fredrikshald (retained)	5,432	3,165	2,317	8	3
Hamar „	2,115	1,516	599		
Kongsberg „	2,456	1,635	821		
Drammen „	9,457	6,493	2,964		
Holmestrand „	1,088	726	362		
Horten „	3,583	1,916	1,667		
Larvik „	4,857	2,487	2,370		
Tromsø „	2,842	1,852	990		
Sarpsborg (suppressed)	2,052	938	1,114		
Porsgrund „	2,138	943	1,195		
Kristiansund „	5,914	2,595	3,319		
Vote taken in 11 towns	41,984	24,266	17,718		
1898—Moss (retained)	3,582	1,997	1,585	8	4
Lillehammer „	1,272	774	498		
Honefoss „	806	464	342		
Svelviken „	609	387	222		
Kristiansand „	6,396	3,325	3,071		
Egersund „	1,476	829	647		
Trondhjem „	16,829	12,812	4,017		
Hammerfest „	977	677	300		
Fredrikstad (suppressed)	6,153	2,677	3,476		
Sandefjord „	2,265	938	1,327		
Kragerø „	2,578	662	1,916		
Flekkefjord „	1,040	313	727		
Vote taken in 12 towns	43,983	25,855	18,128		
1899—Christiania (retained)	102,617	84,009	18,608	3	2
Langesund „	641	343	298		
Tvedestrand „	772	407	365		
Stenkjær (suppressed)	1,090	497	593		
Vardø „	1,123	488	635		
Mandal „	1,884	Disputed	Return		
Vote taken in 6 towns	108,127	85,744	20,499		
	263,082	166,984	94,214	25	25

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* For those who have not time to make an elaborate study of the Scandinavian systems, the two pamphlets indicated by stars in the above list may be recommended as giving an excellent general view of the working of the system in Norway and Sweden.

NOTE.

Foreign Moneys.

English Equivalents.

Krone (Norwegian)	} 1s. 1½d.
Krona (Swedish)	
Öre	90 Öre are equal to one English shilling
(The Krone is divided into 100 Öre.)	

Foreign Measures.

English Equivalents.

Hectolitre	22·0 Imperial Gallons.
Litre	0·22 of Imperial Gallon.
Old English Gallon. . .	0·833 of Imperial Gallon.

(In the American Reports of Dr. Gould and Mr. Koren, the Quart used is a fourth part of the Old English Gallon.)

RELATION OF OVERCROWDING TO INTEMPERANCE.

That there is a close connection between overcrowding on the one hand, and intemperance on the other, cannot well be doubted. The Lords' Committee on Intemperance, in discussing the matter in 1879, said: "It is in towns that the causes to which the increase of intemperance is attributed operate most powerfully. The rate of wages is far higher than in rural districts, and from the year 1869 to 1873 rose very rapidly. The overcrowded dwellings, and bad sanitary arrangements, and the nature of the trade or manufacture in which the inhabitants are employed, also tend to increase the habits of intemperance. Liverpool, for example, shows the greatest number of apprehensions to population, viz., 1 to every 24 inhabitants; its death-rate is higher, and, with the exception of Hartlepool, its population is denser (92 persons per acre) than in any other town in England."

Professor Leone Levi, referring to the same matter, said: "I would call your lordships' attention to this further fact, that out of 204,000 committed (*i.e.*, for drunkenness), upwards of 150,000, or 75 per cent., were in only seven counties, namely, in Lancashire, Middlesex, Durham, York, Stafford, Northumberland, and Cheshire. . . . Drunkenness seems to prevail in the densely-crowded places, and in the most densely-populated counties." ¹

¹ Very similar conclusions are stated in a paper drawn up by Mr. John Dendy and Mr. J. H. Poynting for the use of the Lords' Committee, and published as an Appendix to Vol. IV. of the evidence. The conclusions are as follow:—

"(1) There appears to be a direct relation between the rate of increase of population and the rate of drunkenness, so that on the whole, where the population is increasing most rapidly, there is the greatest drunkenness, this being at least marked in the great northern towns.

"(2) On the whole, in the towns where the drunkenness is greatest, the population is most dense."

These statements were made as far back as 1878-79, but that they still apply can easily be shown. Thus, of the six counties most remarkable for drunkenness in recent years, no less than *four* (viz., Northumberland, Durham, Pembroke-shire, and Cumberland) are also to be found in the six counties most remarkable for overcrowding, while the remaining two (viz., Lancashire and Glamorganshire) are also counties which contain a considerable proportion of densely-crowded districts.

The most remarkable illustrations of the coincidence between drunkenness and overcrowding are furnished by Northumberland and Durham. These counties are not only the most notorious for drunkenness, but contain by far the largest proportion of overcrowded persons. The following are the figures :—

	Percentage of Population living more than two persons to a room in 1891.	No. of Arrests for Drunkenness per 1,000 inhabitants in 1889-93.
Northumberland	38·69	17·14
Durham	34·03	13·37

That the coincidence is more accidental than the above figures suggest is not only possible, but extremely probable, but at least it is too remarkable to be ignored. That excessive drinking is far from being exclusively related to unhealthy surroundings no one with knowledge will question; but that a considerable proportion of it is so related is hardly open to doubt. In their Report on the Housing of the Working Classes, the Royal Commissioners discuss the question at some length. A few extracts from their report may be quoted: "Before leaving the effects upon the people of the evil conditions in which they live, and before entering upon the causes which have produced those evils, it will be well to consider in which of the two categories certain facts should be placed. The question, to quote the title of a pamphlet mentioned in evidence, is, 'Is it the pig that makes the sty, or the sty that makes the pig?' That is to say, are the dirty and drinking habits of a portion of the very

poor who live in overcrowded dwellings the cause or the consequence of the miserable circumstances in which they are found? It will be seen that the temperance question is involved in this examination, and the strictest caution is necessary not to let regret and disapproval of the ravages of intemperance divert attention from other evils which make the homes of the working classes wretched, evils over which they have never had any control. . . . To return, however, to the question whether drink and evil habits are the cause or consequence of the condition in which the poor live, the answer is probably the unsatisfactory one that drink and poverty act and re-act upon one another. Discomfort of the most abject kind is caused by drink, but indulgence in drink is caused by overcrowding and its cognate evils, and the poor who live under the conditions described have the greatest difficulty in leading decent lives and of maintaining decent habitations."

GROWTH OF TOWNS.

Town.	Population.		Rate of Increase.
	1841.	1891.	
West Ham	12,738	204,903	1,509%
Cardiff	11,442	128,915	1,027%
Birkenhead	11,998	99,857	732%
Croydon	16,682	102,695	516%
Burnley	19,109	87,016	355%
Oldham	42,595	131,463	209%
Bradford	72,653	216,361	198%
Sheffield	111,091	324,243	192%
Blackburn	41,268	120,064	191%
Salford	68,386	198,139	190%
Hull	69,998	200,044	186%
Birmingham	189,679	478,113	153%
Leeds	152,074	367,505	141%
London (Ad. County)	1,948,516	4,232,118	117%
Manchester	256,525	505,368	97%
Liverpool	286,487	517,980	81%

GILCHRIST LECTURES.

The following table gives particulars of the attendances at the lectures delivered under the auspices of the Gilchrist Educational Trust in 1898:—

SUMMARY OF ATTENDANCE AT LECTURES, 1898.

	Average attendance at each Lecture.	Total attendance at the Course of four Lectures.
Spring.		
GROUP I.		
Hyde	892	3,571
Glossop.	940	3,760
Crewe	913	3,652
Llangollen	606	2,425
Stafford.	1,023	4,094
<hr/>		
GROUP II.		
Whitchurch (Salop)	567	2,269
Oldham.	692	2,770
Hindley	641	2,564
Colne	812	3,250
Blackpool	2,200	8,803
<hr/>		
Autumn.		
GROUP III.		
Mossley	662	2,650
Goole	1,012	4,050
Accrington	1,082	4,328
Elland	877	3,511
Malton	383	1,535
<hr/>		
GROUP IV.		
Abingdon	842	3,370
Exeter	1,325	5,300
Tiverton	1,170	4,680
Dudley	719	2,876
Tewkesbury	611	2,445

The syllabus of the lectures was as follows:—

	<i>Lecturers.</i>	<i>Subjects.</i>
Group I.	Prof. Sir Robert Ball.	"A Universe in Motion."
	Rev. Dr. Dallinger.	"Spiders — their Work and their Wisdom."
	Ditto.	"A Naturalist's Study of the question—May our Neighbouring Worlds be Habitable?"
	Professor H. G. Seeley.	"Volcanoes."
	Dr. R. D. Roberts.	"The Distribution of Animal Life on the Earth's Surface and its Significance."
Group II.	Dr. Andrew Wilson.	"Lungs and Air — a Lesson in Public and Personal Health."
	Dr. A. P. Laurie.	"Dust."
	Ditto.	"Invisible Rays."
	Dr. R. D. Roberts.	"The Building of the British Isles: a Geological Sketch."
	Rev. Dr. Dallinger.	"Spiders — their Work and their Wisdom."
	Ditto.	"The Pond and its Minute Inhabitants: a Modern Study of Minute Life."
Group III.	Prof. V. B. Lewes.	"Our Atmosphere and its Relation to Life."
	Rev. Dr. Dallinger.	"Spiders — their Work and their Wisdom."
	Ditto.	"New Spider Studies."
	Dr. Andrew Wilson.	"The Heart and the Story of the Circulation."
	Dr. R. D. Roberts.	"The Evolution of the British Isles: a Geological Sketch."

Group IV.	Prof. Sir Robert Ball.	"A Universe in Motion."
	Prof. C. Waldstein.	"The Spirit of Greek Art."
	Rev. Dr. Dallinger.	"Spiders — their Work and their Wisdom."
	Ditto.	"New Spider Studies."
	Dr. Andrew Wilson.	"Brain and Nerve and their Work."

PROFITS OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

The present writers have based their calculations of the sum that would be available for recreative agencies upon the assumption that the trade, *as carried on by a Municipality or Company*, would yield, at a low computation, a net profit of 20 per cent. upon the sales. This figure was adopted by Mr. Chamberlain in 1876 in his proposals for the municipalisation of the traffic in Birmingham.¹ It is probable that in the past 20 years the rate of profit upon public-house sales has considerably increased, and the evidence that is forthcoming from various quarters points to a higher rate than 20 per cent. at the present time.

In the Minutes of Evidence of the Royal Commission of the Liquor Licensing Laws (Volume VIII.) an account is given of the experiment now being carried on by the Birmingham Corporation in connection with their waterworks in Wales. The Corporation having to supply accommodation for 1,000 workpeople in the Elan Valley, decided to meet the demand for drink by establishing a canteen, the keeper of which should have no interest in the sale of drink. Mr. E. A. Lees, the business manager of the Elan Works, was questioned by Mr. Charles Walker, Chairman of the Licensed Victuallers' Central Protection Society of London, upon the profits made in the canteen. Mr. Walker inquired (71243),

¹ "The total sale in Birmingham, with a population of 360,000, would, at this rate, amount to £900,000, on which the average profit is estimated, on good authority, to be 20 per cent." (*The Right Method with the Publicans*, p. 28).

"You tell us you make very considerable profit, and you charge 5*d.* a quart?" And further (71247), "The purpose of my asking you the question is this: You charge 5*d.* a quart. If you pay 24*s.*, which I should imagine is about the price, that is 2*d.* per quart; so that you see there is a profit of 150 per cent." To which Mr. Lees replied, "Probably that would be the cost at the brewery; but the carriage is very high." One may add a halfpenny per quart for carriage, and there is still a gross profit left of 100 per cent. Mr. Lees had previously stated (71178) that the prices in the canteen were fixed by the market price in the neighbourhood. These enormous profits are unquestionably in excess of those ordinarily made by the Trade. But the reason is brought out with clearness in the examination before the same Commission of the Bishop of Chester by Mr. Edward North Buxton, a partner in one of the largest London breweries. Mr. Buxton, to illustrate the question he was putting, took the case of a publican, "a fair average case," who bought a public-house for £10,000, putting in £2,000, and leaving the remaining £8,000 on a 5 per cent. mortgage. A large portion of this £10,000—the evidence does not say how much—would represent the value of the licence. Mr. Buxton, after saying that the publican in question made a profit of £300 a year and paid £400 on his mortgage, asked the Bishop this very pertinent question: (69249) "Is it not fair to say that if you take over the trade of that man, unburdened as he was, by the large amount of capital, to the extent of the interest on that capital, you will pay a much larger dividend; you will make a much larger profit?"; and added (69250): "My point is that as you have an investment of a far smaller amount of capital for about the same trade, and have the advantage of trading on a large scale, *you will make an enormous profit.*"

Manifestly there can be only one answer to Mr. Buxton's suggestion that "you will make an enormous profit." It is obvious that a municipality taking over the traffic at the expiration of a "time notice" would be very differently situ-

ated from the private trader entering into the business at the present time, and having to pay the exceedingly high rents now charged for licensed houses.

In Vol. VI. of the Minutes of Evidence (Scotland) of the same Commission is to be found the account of an experiment carried on by the Fife Coal Company in Hill of Beath, a village with a population of 1,100 or 1,200, situated near Dunfermline. Mr. Charles Carlow, J.P., Managing Director of the Company, gave evidence that the Company opened a public-house in the village to prevent a licence being given to a private trader. The man who has been put into the house to carry on the trade for the Company has no interest in pushing sales. Mr. Carlow stated (49872) that they sold at usual public-house prices. Questioned by Mr. Younger (49756): "You say that their returns are 45 per cent. upon the receipts?" Mr. Carlow replied: "That is the gross profit—44½ per cent. calculated upon the sales. The net profit calculated upon the sales is 28½ per cent." In response to a question from the Chairman (Viscount Peel) as to whether he considered that the experiment threw any light upon the profits of the trade, Mr. Carlow said (49637): "I think our experiment shows that the profits are very high indeed, and that there is no wonder that small licensed houses are sold at such large prices as we hear of. In the neighbouring village of Cowdenbeath, where a great many of our miners also reside, a house was sold, I am told, very recently, for £7,000, the structural value of which could not be over £1,200."

49638 (Chairman): "For how many successive years had a licence been obtained for that house?" (Answer): "I think about six, if I remember aright. In another village, where a large number of our miners are, a licence was held for three years. An old miner built a house at a cost of £350, and sold it for £3,500. It cost £250, and he spent about £100 on it."

49639 (Chairman): "How soon after getting the licence did he sell it?" (Answer): "Three years. Then there is

another instance still, in East Fife, quite close to 174 of our workmen's houses. The licence was got a year and a half ago. The value of the house was about £1,000, and the owner sold it for £3,000."

Further, in the *Licensed Victuallers' Gazette* of May 13th, 1898, a report was given of a Compensation for Disturbance case tried before the London Sheriffs' Court. The plaintiff, in the course of his evidence, stated that "his profit on cheap wines was 200 and 300 per cent. Brandy he bought at 8s. in bond, and after 'breaking it down' he retailed it at 31s. On whisky and gin the profit was 100 and 50 per cent. respectively. On pale ales there was a profit of 150 per cent., and on ordinary beer 33 per cent. Where the beer was sold in glasses the profit was much greater."

The *Daily News* of May 10th, 1898, in its report of the same case, stated that "Mr. Marks, a public-house broker, said that it was the custom, in dealing with licensed premises, to write down a profit of 56 per cent. on the gross takings."

After making all necessary deductions from the representations of a tradesman claiming compensation for disturbance, it is impossible to avoid the conviction that the profits made were upon a very high scale. Evidence of a similar character is afforded by a case reported in the *Weekly Budget* of November 12th, 1898: "At Blackpool, on Thursday, an inquiry was held before Mr. Mellor, barrister, and a special jury of gentlemen from all parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, to determine the compensation to be paid Fred Settle, his house and confectioner's shop (licensed premises) being required for the new Town Hall. The claimant said his profits were £15 a week in summer and £5 in winter. He gave 10d. per dozen for beer, and sold 600 bottles a day at 2s. a dozen. Draught beer cost 36s. a barrel, and at 2d. a glass he received £6 for a barrel. On pint bottles he only got 1s. a dozen. For Bass's he gave 1s. 4d., and sold at 3s. outside; and for Guinness's he gave 1s. 3½d., and sold at 3s. On draught beer the profits were nearly 200 per cent."

In Norway, in 1896, the percentage of net profits upon the gross receipts of the Samlags was at the rate of 35 per cent. ; or, if the sums paid by the Samlags for the right to sell be added to the profits, they work out at the rate of 52 per cent.

Dr. Gould, in his *Popular Control of the Liquor Traffic*, published in 1894, gives the annual gross receipts of the Stockholm Company at £128,739, and the net profits at £82,699, which is at the rate of 64 per cent. upon the takings. The profits of the Gothenburg Company, as given by him, are at the rate of about 42 per cent. The profits in both cases would be much higher if the large sums paid to the municipalities for licence rights were added.

HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS.

It will be noticed that, hitherto, no reference has been made to one important and difficult problem, which has to be faced in any scheme of licensing reform, viz. :—the licences to be issued to hotels, restaurants, etc. This question it may be well here to consider.

In the Liquor Traffic (Local Control) Bill, introduced by Sir W. Harcourt, in February, 1893¹, there were the following provisions :—

(1) “ Nothing in this Act shall prevent the grant or renewal of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors in premises intended to be used in good faith, exclusively for all, or any, of the following purposes ; that is to say,

(a) For refreshment rooms at a railway station ; that is to say, for persons arriving or departing by railway ; or

(b) For an inn or hotel, that is to say, for the accommodation of travellers, or of persons lodging therein ; or

(c) For an eating-house, that is to say, for persons taking meals on the premises.

¹ The same general proposals, with one or two additions, were included in the 1895 Bill. See Intoxicating Liquor Traffic (Local Control) Bill, 1895, clause 6.

(2) There shall be attached to every such licence, such conditions as the licensing authority think necessary, or proper, for preventing the use of the premises for any other purpose than that specified on the licence."

The foregoing provisions would probably meet the requirements of the case if the licences were granted upon terms which secured the due observance of the conditions without recourse, on the part of the licensing authority, to legal proceedings. It has been pointed out, as one of the advantages of the Company system, that bye-laws for the conduct of the trade can be enforced in the Company houses with promptness and ease without any recourse to the laborious, uncertain, and costly methods of the law. To secure the same end in connection with hotels, restaurants, and railway refreshment rooms where liquor was sold for private profit, under the conditions of licence already referred to, it would probably be sufficient to provide, as a condition of the yearly licence, that inspectors appointed by the licensing authority should be free, at all times, to inspect such licensed premises. The licences would, of course, be subject to renewal or refusal at the discretion of the licensing authority at the end of each year.

CLUBS.

It has been well said that "no licensing reform, however complete the restraint it places on public-houses, will accomplish much unless at the same time it deals with the club evil. There is to-day, in every large town, a considerable and rapidly increasing number of drinking dens, subject to no control, paying no fees, requiring no licences, and allowed to keep open all day and every day, Sunday and week-day alike."

From the Return of Clubs presented to the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws it appears that the number and distribution of clubs in the United Kingdom in which intoxicating liquors are sold are as follow :—

Name of District.	Number of Clubs.		Total.	Open on Sundays.	Total number of Members.
	Members.	Proprietary.			
London, Metropolitan and City Police District	573	87	660	346	246,523
England : Counties and Boroughs . .	2,685	188	2,873	1,343	595,450
Scotland : Counties and Boroughs . .	150	7	157	64	39,240
Ireland	167	11	178	161	26,357
Wales : Counties and Boroughs . .	102	20	122	98	39,165
Total . .	3,677	313	3,990	2,017	946,735

The increase in the number of clubs from 1887-1896 is shown in the table below :

Name of District.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.
London, Metropolitan and City Police District .	298	327	361	411	446	474	499	534	584	660
England : Counties & Boroughs .	1,646	1,745	1,847	1,955	2,071	2,200	2,326	2,499	2,661	2,873
Scotland : Counties & Boroughs .	82	88	92	96	104	110	122	126	137	157
Ireland . .	96	100	104	111	116	129	148	154	161	178
Wales : Counties & Boroughs .	33	43	44	44	51	57	65	80	97	122
Total . .	2,160	2,303	2,448	2,617	2,788	2,970	3,160	3,393	3,640	3,990

Referring to this table, the Secretary of the Royal Commission observes :—" As the figures deal only with clubs now in existence, the apparent increase is somewhat greater than the real."

Evidence has been given before the Royal Commission of the growth of Brewers' Clubs. By means of these, the licensing authorities are not unfrequently set at defiance, as in a case mentioned in the House of Commons in 1895. "The licence of a certain village public-house had been taken away because of the misconduct of the publican, and because the place was not required. Thereupon the brewer who owned the building opened it as a club, making the former publican manager. The rules were carefully drawn up, with the aid of counsel, to keep the house open to as many as possible; an entrance fee of a few pence was fixed; and the club was in a position to accommodate almost all its old customers. It had not to observe any of the regulations imposed on the regular drink shops, and consequently did twice as much business as before its licence was taken away."

It does not fall within the scope of the present volume to consider in detail the provisions that should be made for the right conduct of clubs. The question has received large attention from the Royal Commission, and definite suggestions may be anticipated in its Report. But, apart from the detailed proposals which that Commission may make, there is a growing and widespread conviction that any scheme of reform must include the licensing of all clubs in which liquor is sold.

It is probable that the abuse of drinking clubs would be brought into narrow limits if it were provided :—

(a) That all clubs in which liquor was sold should be annually licensed.

(b) That the licensing authority should be empowered to attach to each licence such conditions as it deemed necessary.

(c) That all licensed clubs should be open to the inspectors of the licensing authority.¹

(d) That the licensing authority should have power summarily to cancel the licence of any club, if, in the opinion of the licensing authority, the provisions of the licence had been seriously violated.

Provisions of this kind, whilst giving little annoyance to *bond-fide* clubs, would, it is believed, be effective in their control over mere drinking clubs.

¹ Captain the Hon. G. Anson, the Chief Constable of Staffordshire, when giving evidence before the Royal Licensing Commission, was asked whether there would be any very strong opposition to the power of entry from social and political clubs of high standing, and from the far larger number of working men's clubs, which are conducted in a perfectly regular and proper manner, and how often the police would enter a well-conducted club? He replied:—"I should think a visit once or twice a year would be ample. They could easily find out whether anything irregular was going on in a club with a number of members, and they would not enter unless there was some reason for doing it as a rule." It is to be remembered that all the large factories of the kingdom are now under inspection, and those which are well conducted experience no annoyance from the occasional visit of the inspector.

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